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The Brâncoveanu Year

MELINDA MITU¹

THE BRÂNCOVEANU YEAR AT THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF TRANSYLVANIAN HISTORY

2014 marked the anniversary of 300 years since the execution of Constantin Brâncoveanu and his sons, in Istanbul, at the order of Sultan Ahmed III. Given the significance of this moment for Romanian national history and culture, 2014 was declared the *Brâncoveanu Year* by the Ministry of Culture.

On the occasion of the cultural and scientific events organised by various museal institutions in the country last year, aimed at commemorating the above-mentioned event, the National Museum of Transylvanian History from Cluj-Napoca organised – in collaboration with the “George Barițiu” Institute of History in Cluj-Napoca and with the Faculty of History from “Babeș-Bolyai” University in Cluj-Napoca – a symposium entitled *Politics, Diplomacy and Culture during the Age of Brâncoveanu*.

The symposium works took place on 22 October 2014. During the proceedings, communications were presented by Dr. Susana Andea and Dr. Anton Dörner, researchers at the “George Barițiu” Institute of History, Prof. Dr. Nicolae Sabău and Prof. Dr. Avram Andea, from the Faculty of History and Philosophy of “Babeș-Bolyai” University, as well as by Dr. Melinda Mitu, from the National Museum of Transylvanian History.

The group of studies published in the pages that follow scientifically valorise these communications, highlighting several political, economic and cultural-artistic features of the Brâncoveanu era.

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RECIPROCAL IMAGES AND ATTITUDES FROM WALLACHIA AND TRANSYLVANIA DURING THE EPOCH OF MATEI BASARAB AND THE RÁKÓCZY PRINCES

Abstract: In this article we intend to highlight the images and attitudes that emerged in Wallachia and Transylvania in the mid-17th century, in the context of the policy of alliance between the Wallachian Voivode Matei Basarab and the two Transylvanian Princes from the Rákóczy family. Numerous historical studies published to date have addressed the issue of the political, military and diplomatic relations between the Wallachian voivodeship and the Transylvanian principality. However, this topic has been scarcely approached from an imagological perspective. To understand the manner in which the two political partners perceived each other, as well as the environments to which they belonged, we have used a series of narrative testimonies from that period, especially chronicles, memoirs, correspondence and narrative works, which can highlight the subjective drives behind the political and the military events. The documentary sources have also not been neglected, in an attempt to outline a balanced picture of those reciprocal images and perceptions.

Keywords: Wallachia, Transylvania, Matei Basarab, George Rákóczy I, George Rákóczy II

*

Most historical studies that have addressed the issue of the relations between Wallachia and Transylvania in the mid-17th century emphasised the fact that the relations of close alliance between the two countries represented the main direction of the foreign policy promoted by Matei Basarab and by Princes George Rákóczy I and George Rákóczy II.² This took the form of either close bilateral ties, aiming not only to ease the Turkish pressure, but also to establish a united front against Vasile Lupu's personal ambitions, or the form of an anti-Ottoman confederation. The way in which this policy of alliance was carried out may be captured at the level of diplomatic and

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² Ioan Sirbu, *Mateiu-vodă Basarab's auswärtige Beziehungen 1632-1654*, Leipzig, 1899; Ioan Lupaș, "Începutul domniei lui Matei Basarab și relațiunile lui cu Transilvania," in *Studii Istorice*, 1943, pp. 45-66; Victor Motogna, "Epoca lui Matei Basarab și Vasile Lupu," in *Cercetări Istorice*, XVI, 1940, pp. 453-544; Constantin Rezachevici, "Începutul epocii lui Matei Basarab și Vasile Lupu în lumina relațiilor cu Imperiul otoman și Transilvania," in *Revista de Istorie*, 1982, 35, no. 9, pp. 1003-1012; Nicolae Stoicescu, *Matei Basarab*, București, 1988, pp. 126-205. For the point of view of Hungarian historiography, see *Erdély története*, vol. II (1606-1830), Budapest, pp. 711-716; Sándor Szilágyi, *Okmánytár II. Rákóczy György diplomáciai összeköttetéseihez*, Budapest, 1874 (*Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Diplomataria*, vol. XXIII); Sándor Szilágyi, *A két Rákóczy György családi levelezése*, Budapest, 1875 (*Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Diplomataria*, vol. XXIV); Sándor Szilágyi, *Levelek és okiratok I. Rákóczy György keleti összeköttetései történetéhez*, Budapest, 1883; Sándor Szilágyi, *I. Rákóczi György*, Budapest, 1893, passim.

military actions, by examining the alliance “treaties”³ and how they were respected, the mutual military support granted or withheld in various circumstances, the diplomatic contacts with the Porte and with third partners.

Beyond these facts and analyses, many historians have insisted on the subjective factors underlying the aforementioned alliances. They have often drawn attention to the importance of the motivations underlying political decision-making, highlighting the relations, including of a personal nature, between Matei Basarab and the Transylvanian princes, correlated, of course, with attitudes towards a third protagonist, Vasile Lupu. Focusing on this subject, historians like Nicolae Iorga, Ioan Lupaş or Victor Motogna emphasised the features of those personalities, the differences or similarities of temperament between them, their bonds of friendship or the disillusionment they experienced on account of the relations they were engaged in under various circumstances. Starting from such suggestions, the aim of this paper is precisely to examine aspects concerning the weight and manifestation of certain subjective factors, of imagological import in the development of political relations between the two provinces.

Given the decision-making mechanism at work in the nobiliary and estate regime, in addressing such subjective factors we will not limit ourselves to discussing the personal whims of ruler or the prince in question. Their counsellors and close advisers, the great nobility and the boyars, the representatives of the estates, the Diet and the military categories, the officials and the courtiers on whom the authority of the Wallachian ruler or of the Prince of Transylvania was predicated – they all brought their specific contribution, acting according to their own interests and adopting a certain attitude, which should be taken into consideration.

The primary sources we shall resort to in outlining these attitudes and the subjective, personal factors that underlay the policy of alliance between Wallachia and Transylvania are primarily narrative sources. Due to the relevance of some of the sources that have been available to us and have been valorised to a lesser extent in the historiography of the problem, we have used primarily a series of narrative sources from Transylvania: chronicles, memoirs, correspondence and fictional works inspired of historical inspiration. Beyond the raw information, sometimes lacking precision, that they provide, they are valuable sources for the proposed investigation specifically because of their subjective nature. Revealing the attitude and the personal position of the person who drafted them in relation to various events, through an accumulation of traits and observations, these sources also offer a well-defined image of the other.

Such attitudes and assessments are not encountered solely in narrative sources, but also in official, documentary texts. They occur primarily in diplomatic correspondence, which, with all its official character, also includes references to the authors’ personal attitudes and to the image of the other. Imagological references can be found even in the text of certain official documents, such as alliance treaties or Dietal rulings. Even in these sources, the customary protocolar formulas often fail to conceal the intentions, political attitudes and personal sentiments of the signatories.

³ Throughout this article, I have used the modernised term of “treaties.” In fact, the legal instruments that sanctioned the agreements between the two parties were letters patent or so-called *diplomas* (*diplome*) issued by the chancery of the prince or by the Diet and charters (*hrisoave*) issued by the Wallachian ruler.

1. The beginnings of the alliance

One aspect that can be detached from the contemporaries' testimonies refers to the finding that the politics of alliance between Wallachia and Transylvania was based on the old ties of friendship between Matei Basarab and George Rákóczy I, extended then onto the latter's successor as well. Thus, Miron Costin, a connoisseur of the period, noted that Vasile Lupu was in a rapport of inferiority to Matei primarily due to the relations of friendship between the Wallachian ruler and the Transylvanian princes: "Matei Voivode so overwhelmed Vasile Voivode and was great friends with the neighbours, especially with the Hungarians [i.e. the Princes of Transylvania]. And with no neighbour was Vasile Voivode on goods terms... nor did any of the neighbours pay him his due respect."⁴ The Saxon chronicler Georg Kraus notes, in turn, that Matei was "an honest neighbour, he remained loyal both to him [George Rákóczy I] and to his son, George Rákóczy II, and to the land of Transylvania, until his death."⁵ Similar terms were used by the Hungarian chronicler János Szalárdi, who wrote from a perspective close to that of the Transylvanian prince, saying that Rákóczy and his country were in "good neighbouring relations and in alliance with Matei Basarab and Wallachia."⁶

The same viewpoint was adopted by neutral observers, who were more detached from the events than those mentioned above. Information about the good relations and the friendship between the prince and the voivode frequently circulated in the diplomatic circles of the time, as attested, for instance, by a letter the King of Poland sent his ambassador to the Porte, in 1640, or by another, sent by the imperial resident in Istanbul in 1650.⁷ In 1636, the Vizier of Buda feared Matei's actions, knowing that he was "a good friend of Rákóczy's"⁸ and, in 1640, the Venetian agent to the Porte, an extremely knowledgeable diplomat, said that "tra il Ragozzi et il Mattei Principe di Valachia passa gran confidenza et si intendono bene insieme."⁹ All these formulations stress, therefore, the existence of extremely tight relations, which may have exceeded the limits of regular diplomatic alliances.

We could also find the origins of these relations in the years of Matei's exile in Transylvania, 1630-1632, when his first contact with the Transylvanian prince probably occurred. Describing this period, the *Cantacuzino Chronicle* (*Letopisețul cantacuzinesc*) states that Matei and the exiled boyars were well received in Transylvania, welcomed with "great honour and deference" by Rákóczy,¹⁰ the Hungarian nobleman Dávid Zólyomi (whose pro-Romanian attitude might have been due to the fact that he was the brother-in-law of Gavrilăș Movilă, the former ruler of

⁴ Miron Costin, *Opere*, București, 1958, p. 113.

⁵ Georg Kraus, *Cronica Transilvaniei. 1608-1665*, București, 1965, p. 87.

⁶ János Szalárdi, *Síralmas magyar krónikája*, Budapest, 1978, p. 324.

⁷ Andrei Veress, *Documente privitoare la istoria Ardealului, Moldovei și Țării Românești*, vol. X, București, 1938, pp. 218-219.

⁸ Kraus, *Cronica*, p. 120.

⁹ Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, *Fragmente din istoria românilor*, vol. III, București, 1900, p. 24.

¹⁰ *Istoria Țării Românești. 1290-1690. Letopisețul cantacuzinesc*, București, 1960, p. 96.

Moldavia – according to the historian Andrei Veress)¹¹ and by “all neighbours.” Szalárdi’s *Chronicle* also addresses this period, stating that Agha Matei, being among Rákóczy’s “clientele,” was hosted in Alba Iulia, where, as the chronicler puts it, “he lived and revelled under the protection of the prince.”¹²

The reference to the revelries held in Alba Iulia, which was intended to highlight the links established between Agha Matei and the prince, was not without importance in the context of the diplomatic practices of the time. A somewhat similar episode is reported in Kraus’s *Chronicle*: in 1653, while Rákóczy II was secretly preparing the expedition for the removal of Vasile Lupu, the prince sent the Moldavian prince “two barrels of Hungarian wine” beforehand, as a gift brought by the noble János Boros, a good acquaintance of Lupu’s. Boros had the mission “to drink this Hungarian wine with him and keep him in place until Kemény arrived from the mountains with his army.” This plan which succeeded and Lupu was taken aback by the advancement of the Transylvanian troops.¹³

Returning to the years of Matei’s exile and the chronicle testimonies proving his connection with Rákóczy, we find other statements claiming that the Transylvanian prince had a decisive role in the enthronement of the Wallachian ruler. Thus, the *Cantacuzino Chronicle* (*Letopisețul cantacuzinesc*) contends that “after he took leave from Prince Racoți and all the nobles and the gentry,” he “set off to come here, in the country. And the prince, for the just service they rendered him when the Germans came upon him at Tocaia [the reference is to the participation of the exiled boyars in the Battle of Rakamaz, waged between Rákóczy and the Imperials], would not let him without men, but chose Captain Vaida Bun, with a number of troops, and starting from Caravan-Sebeș, on 2 August, they accompanied Matei-Agha with great honour.”¹⁴

Without giving further clarifications, Georg Kraus essentially upholds the same thing, saying that Matei was seated on the throne by Rákóczy. The Saxon chronicler wrongly places the event, however, in March 1633, after the death of Leon-Voivode, instead of August-September, as it happened in reality.¹⁵ Szalárdi’s *Chronicle* proves to be more accurate as regards Matei’s enthronement, saying it took place following Rákóczy’s diplomatic intervention at the Porte, but without mentioning anything about some military aid. On the other hand, the Transylvanian chronicler also omitted the episode of the Wallachian wanderers’ participation in the Battle of Rakamaz, probably in order to pass into silence the mutual support offered by the two future allies.¹⁶

Correlated, however, with stronger documentary evidence, the chroniclers’ testimonies concerning the military support Rákóczy allegedly granted Agha Matei at his enthronement prove to have been somewhat inexact. As the historian Ioan Sîrbu

¹¹ Veress, *Documente*, vol. IX, pp. 248-250.

¹² Szalárdi, *Síralmas krónikája*, p. 143.

¹³ Kraus, *Cronica*, p. 154; cf. Sîrbu, *Mateiu-vodă*, p. 327.

¹⁴ *Istoria Țării Românești*, p. 100.

¹⁵ Kraus, *Cronica*, p. 87.

¹⁶ Szalárdi, *Síralmas krónikája*, p. 150.

has shown, from a purely military standpoint, Matei gained access to the throne through his own forces, consisting of the entourage of wandering nobles, as well as of troops of Banatian Romanians led by Vaida Bona. These, in any case, were not made available by Rákóczy (according to a Dietal ruling of 1632, the population in the districts of Banat was exempt from military service, and the prince, who was engaged in a conflict with the Imperials, had no available troops at the time), but were recruited by the wandering boyars at their own expense.¹⁷ It may be ascertained that these recruitments were carried out with the tacit consent of the prince. Rákóczy's support materialised, however, as Szalárdi also stated, primarily through diplomatic interventions at the Porte, and not through military aid proper.

What then is the meaning of the somewhat conflicting statements from the texts of the aforesaid chronicles, since it is clear that they are not simple errors of information? The explanation starts from the fact that they express certain political attitudes towards the recounted events. Kraus, who wrote from the perspective of a Transylvanian, naturally had a tendency to overrate the role played by his prince in the politics adopted by his southern neighbour. Szalárdi, who was operating as a clerk in the service of the princely chancery in 1633,¹⁸ expressed a point of view that I would call official. He also tended to emphasise the generosity and the high protection granted by Rákóczy to his future ally, which is why he glossed over the services Matei had rendered to the prince. At the same time, he did not venture to assert that the expedition of enthronement had benefited from any military help from Transylvania, as this would have contravened the principality's policy of sparing the Ottomans' sensitivities.

What remains most difficult to explain is the assertion referring to Rákóczy's military support in the *Cantacuzino Chronicle* (*Letopisețul cantacuzinesc*), given that, as mentioned above, this support was not actually granted; moreover, following the logic of reasoning in the Transylvanian chronicles, it would have had to be denied anyway if Matei's personal merits were to be emphasised. Whereas this support is not mentioned in the Wallachian chronicle, this is probably due to its author's intent to highlight the future line of Matei Basarab's policy, of close and permanent cooperation with Transylvania. Given the subsequent relations between the two leaders and, especially, the way in which Matei wanted to promote them, it was natural that such motivations should have been pushed into the foreground, in an attempt to highlight, in an exaggerated way even, the services that the two leaders had rendered each other over time, justifying thus the subsequent line of Wallachian foreign policy, predicated on constant alliance with Transylvania.

2. The Rákóczy princes' stance on their alliance with Matei Basarab

It can be safely ascertained that the policy of close alliance with Wallachia was a necessity for Transylvania, which had also been subjected to Ottoman pressures; at the same time, it represented a tradition in the principality's foreign policy orientation.

¹⁷ I. D. Suciú, *Unitatea poporului român. Contribuții istorice bănățene*, Timișoara, 1980, pp. 48-50; Sîrbu, *Mateiu-vodă*, pp. 21-23.

¹⁸ Detre Horváth, "Szalárdi János és siralmas krónikája," in *Századok*, 57, 1923, p. 99.

However, there was another tradition that vied with this tendency to form alliances and was targeted at establishing suzerainty and domination, which had been promoted especially by Gabriel Bethlen over the past few decades.

Obviously, these claims did not actually appear as such in the texts of the treaties, being mentioned, at most, formally, as an extension of the chancery traditions entrenched in the practice of bilateral relations. The specific provisions of these treaties mentioned the duty of good neighbourliness, sincere friendship and the mutual support the prince was also bound to offer: "Wishing to keep good neighbourliness and true friendship with the great and honourable Voivode Matei... we will not be his enemies on any grounds and in any way, we will do no harm and will bring no offense either to him nor his country... But if someone should go against him, we will strive to turn him around, to the best of our ability."¹⁹ On the other hand, while taking great caution lest Matei should find out about this, the prince considered himself, unilaterally, to be the Wallachian voivode's overlord. In 1647, when he was contacted by Duke Radzywill for a crusade against the Ottomans, Rákóczy demanded the Poles not to conclude any agreement with the Wallachian ruler because the latter was his subordinate and his vassal.²⁰ Matei Basarab had never, in fact, assumed this vassalage.

With all its irritating character, this aspect of the relations between Wallachia and Transylvania was unlikely to affect the alliance too much: on the one hand, because Rákóczy lacked the means to impose his point of view and, on the other hand, because the Wallachian ruler proved to possess the necessary political tact, turning a blind eye to certain formal issues that had little bearing on the country's independence and maintaining a tone that expressed his full attachment in the private letters and the official documents he addressed to the prince.

Rákóczy understood the importance of his alliance with Wallachia, even on the grounds of equality, so he gave it due consideration, especially since it was to prove extremely useful to the principality, above all, in 1636, when Matei Basarab's unflagging support saved his ally's throne, threatened by a Turkish intervention. Such an attitude was frankly reciprocated by Rákóczy, as attested by a statement he made in 1646, not before his ally, but the Diet, in which he asserted that "Transylvania is inaccessible to the Turks thanks to Wallachia and Moldova."²¹

The delivery of such statements before the Diet was not haphazard, because many of the Transylvanian noble circles were in favour of a close political alliance with Wallachia and realised the importance of a community of interests between the two provinces against the Ottoman threat. By promoting such attitudes, some nobles developed, as we shall see, differences of opinion with the prince, who was more vacillating in his options for Matei Basarab. The recognition of Wallachia's strategic importance is attested by a letter sent in 1642 by Palatine Miklós Eszterházy to the Transylvanian nobleman Zsigmond Kornis, in which the Wallachian ruler was

¹⁹ Motogna, "Epoca lui Matei Basarab," p. 476.

²⁰ Stoicescu, *Matei Basarab*, pp. 127-128, note 8.

²¹ *Monumenta Comitialia Regni Transylvaniae. Erdélyi Országgyűlési Emlékek*, ed. Sándor Szilágyi, vol. X, p. 446.

deemed to represent a “sturdy wall” for Transylvania and the need to support him, with a view to defending Transylvania’s own interests, was reinforced.²²

The prince’s main counsellors supported, in fact, his collaboration with Matei Basarab. Thus, Zsigmond Kornis, General of the principality, upheld the idea of granting military aid to the Wallachian voivode, who attempted to overthrow Vasile Lupu, in 1637; Kornis adopted that stance against the opinions of his own prince, despite the latter’s authoritative position in decision-making situations.²³ Kornis showed that an intervention in favour of the voivode was necessary because it would have been shameful to abandon Matei, who had supported Transylvania so much in 1636, and the unrest in Wallachia would have negatively impacted Transylvania, too. Another of Rákóczy’s close advisers, István Serédy, considered the prince was bound to help the voivode, who was, as Serédy put it, Transylvania’s sole supporter, apart from God. As long as he remained on the throne, the principality would be defended; otherwise, it would become a theatre of war.²⁴

Awareness of such ideas was not, however, limited only to the great magnates responsible for Transylvania’s diplomacy, as they were shared by a wider range of social groups in Transylvania. Ordinary people, such as János Péter Bukovecky, a provost in Nikopol, or Captain István Horváth alerted Rákóczy, in 1642, about the plans of the Porte to attack Matei Basarab, in the aftermath of which Transylvania was to be devastated too.²⁵ The priest János Köröspataki, the author of narrative poems about Matei’s deeds of arms, claimed that the voivode’s disappearance would have entailed “great damage” to Transylvania, since for as long “as he has lived, he has been like a border fortress, so the Turks and the Tatars could not attack us easily.”²⁶ The chronicler Georg Kraus adopted similar terms in his accounts,²⁷ not to mention the Romanian peasants’ state of mind, as they had experienced directly the threat of Ottoman incursions and were bound to feel close to Matei Basarab, through their religious and ethnic solidarity or based on the consciousness of their identity of language and faith.

It can therefore be stated that the idea of solidarity with Wallachia had represented a constant attitude on the part of the various political and social factors in Transylvania, starting, of course, with the prince himself. To explain, though, why the latter did not adopt a firmer line of collaboration with Matei Basarab, which would really have produced a more efficient response to the Ottoman interferences, we should take several reasons into account, in all their complexity. One of these, detailed above, resided in Rákóczy’s claims of sovereignty and domination over his ally.

Another pertained to Transylvania’s international conjuncture, as well as to its foreign policy tradition. The principality was against the idea of an anti-Ottoman

²² Veress, *Documente*, vol. X, p. 127.

²³ *Monumenta Comititalia*, vol. X, pp. 116-120.

²⁴ Szilágyi, *Levelek és okiratok*, pp. 566-567.

²⁵ Veress, *Documente*, vol. X, p. 130.

²⁶ János Köröspataki, “Az havasalföldi harcról való história,” in *Régi magyar költők tára*, vol. IX, Budapest, 1977, p. 95 sq.

²⁷ Kraus, *Cronica*, p. 87.

crusade and in favour of a policy of equilibrium between the Porte and the Imperials. The aid Rákóczy had granted to the wandering boyars and to Agha Matei on his enthronement was otherwise also related, at least in part, to this policy of equilibrium. The prince and the Diet were concerned about the rise of the Levantine higher nobility in Wallachia and Moldova, who evolved within the orrery of the Turks and, thus, risked upsetting the established balance, by excessively strengthening the Ottoman positions across the extra-Carpathian territories. By supporting the group of indigenous boyars, Transylvania attempted to restore the jeopardised balance.

That was due, on the one hand, to the terror inspired by the Ottoman pressure (through Vasile Lupu's Moldova and the Tatars to the east, and through the Pashalik of Buda to the west) and, on the other hand, to the fears of, and even to the policy of confrontation with, the Imperials (as was the case of Transylvania's participation in the Thirty Years' War). This orientation entailed, of course, a rapprochement to the Porte, the traditional enemy of the House of Habsburg in the Middle Danube Basin; hence, the lesser usefulness of the alliance with Wallachia.²⁸ In addition, a prince like Rákóczy, who was a defender of the faith, could add an ideological motivation to this policy of confrontation with the Imperials. The Calvinist principality attempted to find an ally in the Ottoman sultan (as well as in the Swedes) against the Catholic Habsburgs.

To these two major factors that determined Rákóczy's reluctance to engage in a closer political friendship with Matei Basarab was added a third, subjective aspect. More specifically, this was the prince's inconsistent behaviour, an aspect that often influenced his political attitude, especially in those times, when intrigues, the deceptive game of alliances and Machiavellianism largely characterised the practices of diplomacy.²⁹ It was a political mentality entrenched in the Renaissance heritage, perpetuated by the Venetian and Ottoman diplomacy, and anchored in Baroque attitudes, characterised by the fickleness of human relations and, in general, of the international reality, given the fear of aggression specific to certain endangered areas.³⁰ This mental climate, together with Rákóczy I's fickle character, could explain, to a certain extent, the duplicity the prince often evinced in his relations with Matei Basarab.

As regards Rákóczy II, who was described by the sources as more impetuous and less temperate than his father,³¹ the oscillations of his attitude were also due to his more impulsive character. In any case, they were less obvious, being outshone by the prince's obsessive plans to acquire the crown of Poland.

3. Other attitudes in Transylvania: the nobles and the chroniclers

We have so far seen the causes underlying the attitudes manifested by the Rákóczy princes in the policy they pursued towards their ally. What remains to be

²⁸ Szilágyi, *I. Rákóczi György*, passim.

²⁹ Tahsin Gemil, *Țările Române în contextul politic internațional 1621-1672*, București, 1979, passim.

³⁰ Răzvan Theodorescu, *Civilizația românilor între medieval și modern*, vol. I, București, 1987, chap.

“Gusturi și atitudini baroce la români înainte de 1700,” pp. 137-182.

³¹ Veress, *Documente*, vol. X, p. 424.

seen are the opinions of the princes' entourage as regards this policy; hence, we shall endeavour to capture several assessments thereof, focusing on how its image was perceived by their contemporaries. They express, of course, certain subjectivities, expressing the vantage of their own interests, but summed up together, they can provide a more complex image that is closer to the truth.

From among the prince's collaborators, we may distinguish a few, usually his closest confidants and counsellors, who, naturally, shared his views or even inspired them, positioning themselves on his side in regard to his vacillating conduct towards Matei Basarab. A typical example was István Kassay, his principal adviser: in the confidential letters he addressed to the prince, devoid of indiscretions that might have altered their content, Kassay expressed many doubts about Matei Basarab's policy, justifying thus the necessity of maintaining a cautious position on the part of the Transylvanians.

In 1637, for instance, only one year after the voivode had proved his loyalty and had offered Rákóczy decisive support, risking his own position, Kassay advised the prince on how he should deal with Matei Basarab, insisting that only time would show whether the Wallachian would take the side of the Turks or of Transylvania: "If Voivode Matei, together with his country, wishes to reach an agreement with Your Highness against the Turks, Your Highness should maintain him and not allow him to break away, in any way, either by practice or by heeding the Turks' urging; Your Highness should alienate him from the Turks in every way possible... And if Voivode Matei is drawn toward the Turks... Your Highness can put Your trust neither him, nor his country."³²

This is how Kassay also wrote in 1638, regarding the disputes between Matei and Vasile Lupu: his argument was that neither had been sincere to the Transylvanians.³³ When in 1639, danger of a Tatar and Moldovan invasion was looming over Wallachia, which would have entailed, according to the treaties, the obligation of Transylvanian support, the counsellor proposed that "Your Highness's army should act cautiously," remaining virtually on stand-by. Moreover, "if Matei's state begins to be questionable," the army should "not place itself in jeopardy, but preserve itself." "We need to help Matei," Kassay eventually conceded, "but in such a way that both he and we may remain together with the country and with Your Highness."³⁴

Besides Kassay, another promoter of such a duplicitous policy towards Wallachia was István Szalánczi, the Transylvanian agent to the Porte, who also advised the prince against strengthening the links with Matei Basarab too much, against trusting him and against acting on his intentions of launching an anti-Ottoman crusade, so as not to damage Transylvania's relations with the Turks.³⁵ Szalánczi's position was explicable from the standpoint of a more general option of Transylvanian politics; in addition to this, he was a diplomat accredited with one of

³² Veress, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

³³ Veress, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

³⁴ Veress, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

³⁵ Veress, *op. cit.*, vol. IX, p. 323.

the major powers, who was eager, above all, to maintain his country's good relations with it.

In Transylvania, however, there also existed, as mentioned above, nobiliary circles and political factors that appreciated the position of the Wallachian ruler in a more favourable light, upholding the idea of a closer and more sincere cooperation with him. They advocated these ideas before the prince, showing that Wallachia played the role of a defender of the principality against the Ottomans. In the circumstances mentioned before, in the years 1637-1638, foremost power holders of the principality, such as István Serédy, Zsigmond Kornis or János Kemény, supported this viewpoint, contrary to Kassay's fears.

Kemény, for instance, passed rather harsh judgement on Rákóczy in his memoirs, for his twofaced strategy of 1639, blaming both him and Kassay for having allowed themselves to fall prey to fear and accusing the prince of hypocrisy and dishonesty. Kemény led the army corps intended to station in Burzenland in order to make Matei believe that he would be helped, but, as he said in his *Memoirs* (*Memorii*), he was so disgusted with this hypocrisy that he required to leave the command and retired to Făgăraș, in order not to partake in such deceitful affairs.³⁶

To appreciate correctly these attitudes espoused by the advocates a policy of duplicity or of sincere alliance with Matei Basarab, we must consider several aspects concerning the position and the interests their protagonists expressed. Kemény, in particular, like other Transylvanian nobles like Kornis or Serédy, was an opponent of the Rákóczy princes' tendencies of strengthening the central authority and expanding the princely demesne at the expense of the nobiliary estates. It was, above all, for this policy that the memoirist later criticised Rákóczy I and his son, whose authoritarian tendencies were at odds with the influence Kemény had acquired.³⁷ From this perspective, there were, of course, other differences of opinion too, relating to foreign policy or to this antagonism between the authoritarian princely policy and the autonomous tendencies of the nobility, while Kassay or Tholdalaghy appeared as supporters of the princely policy, in all of its aspects.

Besides this political divergence, there also existed confessional and ideological dissensions. The Catholics generally supported the line of anti-Ottoman resistance (which involved close relations with Matei Basarab), as they relied or, at least, took into consideration the support provided by the Imperials, as they belonged to the same denomination. Kemény himself, as a prince, was to seek Leopold I's support against the Ottomans.³⁸ Zsigmond Kornis, General of the principality, was in the same position: he was yet another supporter of the alliance with Basarab and of resistance against the Ottomans, his ideas being inspired by Palatine Eszterházy, a representative of the Catholic circles in Northern Hungary and a partisan of the Habsburgs.³⁹

By contrast, Rákóczy, a fervent Protestant, was the supporter of good relations with the Ottomans, with a view to withstanding the Catholic Imperials. It is true that

³⁶ János Kemény, "Önéletírás," in *Kemény János és Bethlen Miklós művei*, Budapest, 1980, p. 120.

³⁷ Éva W. Windisch, afterword to the volume *Kemény János és Bethlen Miklós művei*, p. 366.

³⁸ Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

³⁹ Stoicescu, *Matei Basarab*, p. 152.

such alignments were not mandatory and there are numerous exceptions, but they often provided an ideological justification to some foreign policy orientations.

Closely linked to all of the above contradictions, a problem that lay at the basis of disputes emerging within the ruling circles of Transylvania, regarding the policy to be adopted towards Matei Basarab, was the inclusion of the Turks, as a possible enemy, in the treaties of alliance with the Wallachian ruler. Matei had always advocated that the obligation of mutual support between by the two parties should be extended against the Ottomans. The possible diplomatic complications such an agreement might have entailed could be easily avoided by concluding it in secret. Rákóczy, though, had always declined to do so, even at moments of maximum tension with the Porte, for fear of being drawn into unwanted complications. Thus, the Treaty of March 1635 stated that the prince offered to grant Wallachia assistance against any enemy, with the mention: "From all this we exempt the mighty emperor."⁴⁰ In May of the same year, Matei requested the prince in a letter to add the provision in question in the treaty: "If the Turks wanted to start something against the two countries, Your Highness should be with him [Matei] in all matters and He should be obliged to oppose them," which Rákóczy refused to do.⁴¹

In 1636, however, when the Turks were on the verge of ousting him from the throne, Rákóczy was almost ready to accept the Wallachian proposal; in any case, he received support from Matei, even though the alliance did not compel the Wallachian ruler to offer support against the Ottomans. Although at one point he made a more assertive statement ("I shall not forsake my reign for as long as I live... Better to leave my children a good name than to live without it"),⁴² fearing the Turks, the prince did not meet Matei's request even at this time. Still, as an expression of the tense relations with the Ottomans and as the result of firmer opinions expressed by the Diet, the Transylvanian estates assured the Wallachian voivode, when the alliance between them was renewed, that "understanding the Turks' dangerous thought during these troubled times," they were ready to assist him "in any fate and on every occasion," offering him shelter in case of defeat.⁴³

These divergences between the Diet and the prince on policy to be followed towards Matei Basarab seem to have reached a highpoint in 1640. After the moment of crisis in the Transylvanian-Wallachian relations in 1639, which had been triggered by the fact that Rákóczy had not granted his ally, in turn, out of favour with the sultan, the support the voivode had demanded in the face of the Tatar and Moldovan threat, Matei, who had safely escaped by his own forces, overcame the disappointment caused by the prince's defection with his usual diplomatic tact and took a new approach to strengthen bilateral ties. The message he sent to Alba Iulia in May 1640 expressed his desire not to be "separated from one another as during the previous autumn" and asked Rákóczy that

⁴⁰ Veress, *Documente*, vol. IX, pp. 343-344.

⁴¹ Veress, *Documente*, p. 346-347; cf. Rezachevici, "Începutul epocii," pp. 1010-1012.

⁴² The quotation after Nicolae Iorga, "O scrisoare a lui Matei Basarab către Gheorghe Rákóczy I, principele Ardealului," in *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria românilor*, IX, *Povestiri, scrisori și cronici*, București, 1905, p. 60.

⁴³ *Monumenta Comitalia*, vol. X, pp. 117-118.

the treaty should include no more exceptions for any potential enemy: in other words, that the Turks should also feature as potential enemy.⁴⁴ Perhaps as an expression of the Transylvanian current of opinion favourable to anti-Ottoman resistance, or only as a stratagem of the prince, the document issued by the Diet complied with Matei's request, making no reference to any exception among the potential enemies that might have exempted the Turks and the Tatars from the ranks thereof. However, in the document issued in Rákóczy's name, they were again exempted. Recounting the facts, Kemény said that the prince "has worked with guile."⁴⁵ It is not clear whether he had sought to deceive the Diet, which was, in this case, on Matei's side, or the Wallachian voivode. Most likely, through this duplicitous practice, he had attempted to offer some satisfaction to both parties.

Somewhat circumvented through such processes in the treaties concluded with Rákóczy I, the issue saw a new evolution in the documents issued by his son. In 1650, the treaty of alliance was renewed in its old form,⁴⁶ but Matei immediately sent an envoy to Alba Iulia, who pushed for the introduction of parity of rights and obligations in the new agreement, showing that the former prince had not complied with the previous ones.⁴⁷ The new treaty concluded with George Rákóczy II in 1651 undoubtedly represented a success from the vantage of the anti-Ottoman desideratum pursued by the Wallachian ruler. The prince undertook the obligation to help the ruler should "the Turks violate the conventions that the voivode and his country have with the Ottoman Porte."⁴⁸ As Nicolae Iorga noted, this was "the first acknowledgment of the fact that Wallachia was a self-standing state, having only certain agreements with the state of the sultans."⁴⁹ At the same time, in keeping with his traditional attitude, the Wallachian ruler also undertook to provide support against the Turks and the Tatars. Moreover, the manner in which Rákóczy II complied with these arrangements proved to be more favourable to Matei. The two leaders collaborated in 1653, during the Battle of Finta, as well as in the campaign for the removal of Vasile Lupu.

To complete the picture of the Transylvanian opinions about the alliance with the Wallachian ruler, what should also be noted is the somewhat singular position of János Kemény, between that of the prince and that of the nobles who supported the notion of anti-Ottoman resistance. As we have seen, Kemény was a greater opponent of the Turks, as he would prove later on, and as regards the relations with Matei Basarab, he was a partisan of supporting the Wallachian and of the correct enforcement of the obligations assumed under the treaties. However, when the alliance between Rákóczy I and Matei was concluded, although he accepted the general point of view, which demanded that the treaty should be signed, Kemény expressed a different opinion. Here is how he recounted the event: "He sent an envoy

⁴⁴ Veress, *Documente*, vol. X, pp. 73-75.

⁴⁵ Kemény, *Önéletírás*, p. 102; a Romanian translation in *Călători străini despre țările române*, vol. V, București, 1973, p. 134.

⁴⁶ Ioan Lupăș, *Documente istorice transilvane*, vol. I, Cluj, 1940, p. 250.

⁴⁷ Stoicescu, *Matei Basarab*, p. 183.

⁴⁸ *Monumenta Comitalia*, vol. X, p. 134.

⁴⁹ Iorga, *O scrisoare*, p. 178.

and Voivode Matei snatched a new diploma from the prince and the Diet, concerning the alliance with them. I opposed this and when I had to sign, I protested, saying, 'I'll sign too, but not gladly... I believe that our alliance with the Romanians will be to our detriment, because both we and they are too weak to defend one another'.⁵⁰ Given his subsequent political evolution, we may assume that his view aimed to underline the weakness of the two countries and the precarious alliance between them, out of a desire to suggest thus that other alliances, more effective were needed, with the Imperials, in this case.

Szalárdi's *Chronicle* adopted a different position. Although he did not do so explicitly, but merely by omitting some facts and by euphemising less favourable aspects, he endeavoured, in fact, to justify the princely policy. Thus, the chronicler stated that Rákóczy was in good relations with Matei Basarab, to the extent that they did not bother the Porte,⁵¹ omitting or failing to detect the contradiction between these two attitudes, stemming from the fact that Matei saw the agreement with Transylvania as directed precisely against the Ottoman danger. Another time, recounting the events of 1639 (which he erroneously placed in 1640), characterised by the prince's duplicitous policy that Kemény had severely incriminated, Szalárdi (in a manner reminiscent, in fact, of the machinations of Vasile Lupu, who had tried to incite Rákóczy against Matei) found only words of praise to describe the policy of the prince, who had allegedly secretly supported Matei Basarab.⁵² It was obviously a distorted way of looking at things.

Similar artifices, specific to the narrative springs that are inherently marked by the subjectivity of their authors, are encountered in the chronicle of Georg Kraus, this time with reference to Rákóczy II. Thus, Kraus stated that in 1653, when the old ruler was attacked by Lupu and by the Cossacks of Timuș Hmelnițki, the prince ostensibly sent 5,000 soldiers to help him. The treacherous boyars, however, allegedly prevented these troops from crossing the mountains, which deprived Matei from the promised help.⁵³

This rather implausible story, invalidated by more credible sources, was aimed, according to the chronicler's intentions, perhaps, to excuse the prince for not having given Matei due support. Rákóczy also tried to exculpate himself, but in a different way. While he was in camp at Feldioara, keeping track of the events (like his father had done in 1639), he stated that Matei had written him that "there is no need to stand on positions, in the camp" and had rushed to defeat Lupu by himself,⁵⁴ which is difficult to believe. The truth, however, comes to surface from another letter, also belonging to the Prince of Transylvania, showing that the aid he had sent Matei had amounted to just 800 soldiers.⁵⁵ It was, in any case, more than Rákóczy I had done in 1639. The poem dedicated by the Transylvanian priest Köröspataki to the Battle of

⁵⁰ The translation of Kemény's account in *Călători străini*, vol. V, pp. 143-144.

⁵¹ Szalárdi, *Síralmas krónikája*, p. 324.

⁵² Szalárdi, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

⁵³ Kraus, *Cronica*, p. 160.

⁵⁴ Stoicescu, *Matei Basarab*, p. 198.

⁵⁵ Szilágyi, *A két Rákóczi György*, p. 324.

Finta had been occasioned precisely by the participation of this Transylvanian troop in that fight. Naturally for the specific rhetoric of such a narrative poem, Köröspataki also brought into relief the figure and the merits of Rákóczy II, who, we are told, had sent to the aid of Matei “his finest armies,” which defeated, together with the Wallachian troops, Lupu’s Moldavians and the Cossacks.⁵⁶

Despite all these construals, interpretations and differences in nuance, we should note that regardless of their political position towards prince or the idea of anti-Ottoman resistance, the vast majority of the Transylvanians who left testimonies about these matters commented in favourable or even laudatory terms on Matei Basarab’s actions, on his politics of independence and the stability of his throne, and on the military successes achieved against his adversaries. Kemény spoke of his brave troops and his dignified position in his diplomatic relations.⁵⁷ The poets Köröspataki and Malomfalvai extolled his military virtues and his courage in battle.⁵⁸ Even an enemy of his policy like Kassay referred to the voivode in his letters as the “good prince” of Wallachia.⁵⁹ “Voivode Matei passed on, much to the detriment of our country,” as the priest Köröspataki wrote, for “we would be happy if he were still alive, to our luck.”⁶⁰ Rákóczy II also expressed his reaction with complete sincerity, in a letter to his mother, Zsuzsánna Lórántffy: “Poor Voivode Matei died a week before... Would to God this tidings were untrue.”⁶¹

Statements like the ones above show that the majority of the political power holders in Transylvania positively valued the actions undertaken by the Wallachian ruler. Beyond the multiplicity of the most diverse positions and interests, the collaboration between Transylvania and Wallachia was a self-evident necessity.

The Ottoman pressure, felt either directly or through the destabilising actions undertaken by Vasile Lupu, affected both countries equally and demanded that they should close ranks in a common defence. The political attitudes we have captured here expressed precisely this tendency, noticeable at different levels. Its translation into practice, attempted through numerous efforts throughout the century, failed, however, to produce noticeable effects, due to the unfavourable external conditions.

⁵⁶ János Köröspataki, “Lupuj vajdáról való ének,” in *Régi magyar költők tára*, vol. IX (*A két Rákóczy György korának költészete*), passim.

⁵⁷ Kemény, “Önéletírás,” p. 101.

⁵⁸ In three historical poems in which there appears the figure of Matei Basarab, edited in *Régi magyar költők tára*, vol. IX.

⁵⁹ Veress, *Documente*, vol. X, p. 7.

⁶⁰ János Köröspataki, “Az havasalföldi hartzról,” in *Régi magyar költők tára*, vol. IX, p. 95.

⁶¹ Szilágyi, *A két Rákóczi György*, p. 480.

**DIPLOMACY AND EPISTOLARY EXCHANGES:
CONSTANTIN BRÂNCOVEANU
AND TRANSYLVANIA (1699-1714)³**

Abstract: The authors of the study aim to capture the role that diplomacy and the exchanges of letters and emissaries played in maintaining good neighbourly relations between Wallachia and Transylvania in the period of Constantin Brâncoveanu's reign. Although this was an era of military confrontations and evident tendencies to reconfigure the European political map, diplomacy demonstrated its full efficacy. This effort included the correspondence between the Romanian voivode and Comes Ladislau Bethlen, the friendship relations between the two representing one of the manifold links established between the two neighbouring countries.

Keywords: epistolary exchange, diplomacy, politics of the European balance of power, Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu, Comes Ladislau Bethlen.

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Under the Peace Treaty of Karlowitz (1699), Habsburg domination in Transylvania was consecrated from the vantage point of international law. Constantin Brâncoveanu's long reign (1688-1714) covered a decade and a half of this new period in history of the principality, the Wallachian voivode aiming, in addition to defending the integrity and the legal status of his country, to solve certain older family and personal interests in Transylvania. These envisaged the recognition, by the emperor in Vienna, of the estates he had acquired by purchase and pledge north of the mountains, with the right of refuge and shelter there in case of his relegation by the Turks. In addition, to the aforementioned issues there were added new ones, generated by the religious Union of the Transylvanian Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church, an act whereby the Romanians' unity of faith was broken and the Wallachian Metropolitanate was deprived of the jurisdiction it had exercised on the bishops of Alba Iulia since time of yore.

All these problems became extremely pressing after Karlowitz, since the peace treaty that the Christian powers had concluded with the Ottoman Empire did not offer any guarantees that the legal status of Wallachia would remain unchanged. As for

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Transylvania, a country of religious pluralism, the principle of tolerance had been entirely abandoned. Henceforth, both the sultan and the Christian emperor could intervene at will in political or confessional matters, promoting a discretionary policy of force that would serve their own interests. In the case of Constantin Brâncoveanu, any foreign policy initiative without prior approval from the Porte could entail extremely serious consequences, culminating in his relegation or, *in extremis*, in the transformation of the country into a sanjak. In matters of religious policy, considered, by now, a strictly internal matter for each country, Emperor Leopold I would not tolerate any foreign diplomatic interference, all the more so from a Protestant state like England or Holland, as he regarded this as an intrusion in the rapports between the emperor and his subjects.

Given the new equation of international legal regulations and the clashes of interests between the Romanian ruler and the great neighbouring powers, his diplomacy had to be prudent and realistic, as well as to promote the European balance of power principle, which prevailed, at the time, and was admirably formulated by the princely secretary Anton-Maria Del Chiaro: "Wallachia is located between two empires. They form a balance: he who is a prince will have to channel his entire policy towards maintaining this balance in a perfect poise."⁴ Indeed, looking at the diplomatic initiatives and practices of Constantin Brâncoveanu, we can say that the Wallachian ruler wholly subscribed to the balance of power principle.⁵ In a context of military confrontations, when alliances were made and broken as the interests of the states went, when no one knew on whose side the balance of victory would tip, he preferred to maintain an attitude of expectation until the situation was clarified. For the interests of the country and for a diplomacy that was deployed without military support, this was the only wise policy, imposed by the realities and not by the voivode's whims.

The foreign policy promoted by Brâncoveanu compelled him to be well informed about the situation of the neighbouring countries and the rivalries in the area, to continuously watch the developments and changes affecting the system of alliances and the balance of forces so as to orient himself correctly and make the appropriate decisions, according to the course of events. Accurate and fast information, serving as political and military auxiliary means, was necessary to any power; hence, the pressing demands and the services rendered to various countries, primarily to suzerain Turkey and the neighbouring Habsburgs. For this, he maintained an extensive and expensive network of emissaries and secret agents, deploying various couriers and boasting a postal system of great efficiency and rapidity. The transmission of information was ensured by highly trustworthy and skilful individuals,

⁴ *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia*, Venice, 1718, N. Iorga edition, București, 1914, p.....

⁵ For the principles of such a foreign policy, taken over and promoted by Brâncoveanu, see Virgil Zaborovschi, *Istoria politicii externe a celor trei principate Țara Românească, Transilvania și Moldova de la asediul Vienei (1683) până la moartea lui Șerban Cantacuzino și suirea pe tron a lui Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688)*, București, 1925; Virgile Căndea, "Diplomația românească sub Constantin Brâncoveanu," in *Pagini din trecutul diplomației românești*, București, 1966, pp. 168-185; Paul Cernovodeanu, *În vâltoarea primejdiilor. Politica externă și diplomația promovate de Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688-1714)*, București, 1997.

many of them recruited from among the acquaintances and, sometimes, from the close advisers the ruler. The letters could also be carried by merchants, monks, foreign emissaries passing through the country, etc. Since the connections were not safe enough, one had to take into account the uncertainty of communications, the possible attacks of brigands, other unforeseen events on the road, the interception and seizure of letters, or the opening of the correspondence. Encryption was used to maintain its secrecy, as an extra measure, letters being replaced with numbers or Greek characters, the cipher being repeatedly changed in the case of the Romanian ruler.⁶

Out of Constantin Brâncoveanu's external correspondence, totalling over 300 known letters,⁷ most concern his relations with the neighbouring powers, including the pro-Habsburg nobility in Transylvania and the Kuruc leaders, after the outbreak of their movement (1703). The frequency and intensity of the epistolary exchange reveals the attention and interest with which the Romanian ruler followed the evolution of events in the vicinity of his country, including the diplomatic actions in which the decisions that were discussed or the actions that were taken could also have consequences for his realm. Realising what the power rapports in the area were and being aware of the Habsburgs' annexationist ambitions, he preferred to fight for preserving the status quo, welcoming and supporting all those diplomatic and military actions that corresponded to his desires and aspirations. For Constantin Brâncoveanu, the key requirement of such a policy resided in the preservation of Turkey's neutrality both towards the imperial armies and the Kuruc and towards the Nordic war between the Swedes and the Russians. Hence, his opposition to the dangerous game of French politics, which aimed to pit the Ottoman Empire against the Habsburgs in a war, even if this took the form of a military intervention to help the Kuruc insurgents. By contrast, he welcomed the English and Dutch diplomatic efforts to prevent the Turks from interfering in European conflicts.

Turkey's engagement in a war could entail, at any time, the involvement of Wallachia as a vassal state, with everything that an effective military participation would entail and with all the costs this would incur. Now, after Karlowitz, Brâncoveanu knew that the Porte no longer had the solid military forces of yore and sufficient financial resources to enable to assume the role it aspired to in European politics. That is why, in case of war, the country could become an operational theatre for the belligerents at any time, a dangerous situation that could generate possible complications either through the ruler's fall from grace and relegation, or through the foreign occupation *manu militari* and the application, at the peace negotiations, of the principle of *uti possidetis*. The outcome could lead to the disappearance of the state as an institution; hence, the voivode's cautious policy and his reliance on practical

⁶ On the use of ciphered writing, see Radu Pava, "Criptogramele din însemnările de taină ale lui Constantin-Vodă Brâncoveanu," in *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, IV(1960), pp. 507-517; Al. Mareș, "Din istoria criptografiei românești: cifrul cancelariei brâncovenești pentru corespondența în limba polonă," in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie "A. D. Xenopol"*, XXV/1(1987), pp. 335-341.

⁷ Ștefan Ionescu, *Epoca brâncovenească. Dimensiuni politice. Finalitate culturală*, Cluj-Napoca, 1981, p. 110.

wisdom, in his attempt to maintain his loyalty to the suzerain Turks and good neighbourly relations with the Christian imperial forces.

This double game was extremely complicated and dangerous for the prince, as it could easily be discovered by the suzerain state that, under such circumstances, resorted, as a rule, to the relegation of the one who had succumbed to infidelity. For Brâncoveanu, saving his life and his family could be ensured only by fleeing abroad, to a protecting Christian state. Hence, the stake of his dominions north of the Carpathian Mountains, in Transylvania, which was ruled by the Habsburgs. He wished to have his ownership of these estates periodically renewed and accompanied by an imperial letter patent that would offer him the guarantee of protection in case of a refuge. Some of these estates had been acquired by his predecessors, including the title of Transylvanian indigenate for some of the Cantacuzinos,⁸ while others had been personal purchases, procured through his agents and secretaries, as was the special case of Teodor Ladislau Dindar.⁹

According to a document from 13 August 1709, whereby Constantin Brâncoveanu divided his estates “in villages and places from Transylvania” among his four sons, the voivode owned, by gift or purchase, the Făgăraș villages Sâmbăta de Sus, Sâmbăta de Jos and Poiana Mărului; by pledge, lands of the villagers from Cincu Mic and Șomărtin; the village Tămășasa (*Tamas Pataca*) pledged by George Banfi; several houses purchased in Șcheii Brașovului and in old Brașov.¹⁰ To secure the goodwill of the Austrians in connection with his ownership of these estates and, in addition, to obtain the receipt and periodical renewal of the much coveted letters patent, the Romanian prince had to take quite a few risks and perform a range of services in exchange. These included the facilitation and mediation of Austrian secret correspondence across Wallachia, the referral to the Court of Vienna of tidings about the Turks and their allies, potential enemies, the granting of financial loans, the provision of supplies necessary to the Imperial Army, such as grains and other “naturals,” etc. These obligations, undertaken in an era of military confrontations, were not unimportant, nor were they easy to comply with, if we take into account the excessive duties to the suzerain power, so much so that the voivode, compelled to make himself useful to both parties, came to be both a steward for the Porte and a treasurer for the Habsburgs.

The fulfilment of the obligations imposed by the Christian emperor as the price for maintaining good neighbourly relations was extremely dangerous for Wallachia and it was bound to have a sinuous evolution, generating mistrust and suspicion. The good faith of the prince and his secretary, Dindar, who was also an imperial agent,

⁸ Susana Andea, Avram Andea, “Despre acordarea statutului de indigenat în Transilvania princiară (sec. XVI-XVII),” in *Studia Varia in honorem professoris Ștefan Ștefănescu octogenarii*, București-Braïla, 2009, p. 498.

⁹ On the role this princely “resident” in Sibiu played for over a quarter of a century, see Susana Andea, “Viața și activitatea diplomatică a lui Theodor Ladislau Dindar,” in *Studii de istorie medievală și modernă. Omagiu profesorului Nicolae Edroiu, membru corespondent al Academiei Române*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, pp. 413-429.

¹⁰ Partition deed preserved in a certified copy from 1777 and published by N. Iorga, *Documente privitoare la Constantin-vodă Brâncoveanu la domnia și sfârșitul lui*, București, 1901, pp. 165-166.

had often appeared suspicious. The two were suspected of complicity with the Kuruc of Emeric Thököly, then with those of Francis Rákóczi II, with the German defectors from the imperial army who had sought refuge in Wallachia. They also allegedly caused some disturbances and malfunctions in the delivery of the correspondence between Sibiu and Vienna. To these were added the plottings against Brâncoveanu, orchestrated by his opponents from the princely courts of Târgoviște and Bucharest or in the world of the embassies from Istanbul and other European capitals.

Amid this rather tense situation, devoid of full confidence, the Romanian voivode's diplomatic efforts with the Austrian officials could hardly materialise in a personal protection document and in the right to purchase estates in Transylvania. Older, insistent interventions in this regard came to fruition only in 1701, when Emperor Leopold granted "his German prince" Constantin Brâncoveanu¹¹ the letter patent requested,¹² which was reinforced in 1706 by Joseph I, the successor to the imperial throne.¹³ The ensuing political and military events, especially the Russian-Turkish War of 1711, prompted the Romanian voivode and some of the Cantacuzino family members (Steward Constantin Cantacuzino and Sword-Bearer Mihai Cantacuzino) to intervene earnestly with the emperor, through the intercession of secretaries Teodor Ladislau Dindar and Peter Grienner, for obtaining new letters patent, required in case of a refuge to Transylvania. These were granted in August 1711¹⁴ and reconfirmed by the new emperor Charles VI in March 1712, on condition that the beneficiaries should leave Transylvania in case of war against the Turks.¹⁵

Regarding the right to buy estates in Transylvania, the issue dragged on for years, even though the Romanian voivode had received from the emperor the title of Prince of the Holy Roman-German Empire (1695), a quality in which he could *de jure* acquire by purchase and pledge, houses, villages and parts of villages in the neighbouring country. However, the War Council and the Aulic Chamber in Vienna mightily opposed such practices, reluctantly acknowledging the older princely purchases and constantly preventing the acquisition of new ones. Moreover, several transactions were cancelled, as was the case of the purchase, in 1708, of the four villages (*vier Dörfer*) of the noble Kuruc Stephen Gyulai, pledged for a long time on account of financial debt to Brâncoveanu. The voivode failed to obtain from the Viennese military and legal officials the enactment of his ownership over the estate, the reason invoked being the status of fiscal goods derived by seizure from a refugee

¹¹ For this title, obtained on 30 January 1695, see Virg. Drăghiceanu, "Constantin Brâncoveanu conte al Regatului ungar și principe al Sacrului Imperiu Roman. Seme și portret," in *Convorbiri Literare*, XLIX(1915), No. 9, pp. 928-935; N. Iorga, "Les diplômes impériaux de Constantin Brâncoveanu, prince de Valachie," in *Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen*, XIV(1937), No. 7-9, pp. 177-181; Ileana Căzan-Neagu, "Armeriile, stema și sigiliul lui Constantin Brâncoveanu," in *Constantin Basarab Brâncoveanu*, Craiova, 2004, pp. 156-159.

¹² Const. Giurescu, N. Dobrescu, *Documente și regeste privitoare la Constantin Brâncoveanu*, București, 1907, pp. 196-197 and 294-295.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 197.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 207-210.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 217-223.

abroad.¹⁶ Basically, the prince obtained the definitive approval of his right to purchase immovable goods in Transylvania, at the insistence of the same Dindar, under the imperial decree of 24 May 1713.¹⁷ This order was accompanied by a number of restrictive instructions in the subsidiary, some caused by the opposition of the Saxons and nobles, such as the authorities' concealment thereof in "due silence." Furthermore, the transactions that preceded the contracts were to be reported individually in Vienna for approval, and the Gubernium of Transylvania had to be informed about them prior to their conclusion.¹⁸ Although this long-lasting, patient effort of Constantin Brâncoveanu was eventually resolved, its delay and postponement prove, together with the precautions taken by the officials and the Estates, that the princely purchases were regarded and accepted if not with hostility, then at least with reluctance.

In these circumstances, when the armed confrontations between the imperial forces or the Labanc and the Kuruc in Transylvania did not offer reassuring prospects at all, the Romanian voivode had to ensure the peace of the country and good neighbourliness, to maintain full neutrality and show a favourable attitude towards the military officials, to the War Council in Vienna and to its representatives, the general-commanders from Sibiu. This meant, among other things, not only facilitating the correspondence of Generals Rabutin, Kriechbaum or Stainville with Vienna, but also secretly transmitting news about the deeds of the Kuruc and their leaders, about the plundering of the country and the frame of mind of the population, about the combatants' intentions and the movement of troops, about the resources available to them and the result of the military confrontations they participated in. According to a letter Constantin Brâncoveanu addressed, in October 1706, to Baron Christoph Ignaz von Quarient, Vienna's extraordinary envoy to Istanbul, the news about the Kuruc were supplemented by information about the Tatars, the Turks, etc.¹⁹ Of course, the Romanian voivode was able to honour such requests, even when coming from the Turks, as he took advantage of the wealth of information that converged towards his country, situated at a crossroads, in the proximity of the Tatars, the Cossacks, the Poles, the Russians, the pashas by the Danube and the rebellious Kuruc.

To fulfil effectively this multiple role of credible informant for the imperial forces, the Turks and the Kuruc, Constantin Brâncoveanu needed not only a well-organised network of secret agents and emissaries, but also a certain approval and

¹⁶ Const. Giurescu, N. Dobrescu, *Documente și regeste privitoare la Constantin Brâncoveanu*, București, 1907, pp. 173-175 and 229. The ruler retrieved the money given to the seller, according to his secret notes, only on 15 October 1712: "They brought from Dindar the money Ghiulai owed us, which General Staemvil <Stainville> gave them, and they took the estate that was placed as pledge for this money..... tl. 900," apud Ion-Radu Mircea, *Jurnalul catastrofi 1709-1714*, Slatina, 2014, p.102.

¹⁷ Hungarian National Archives, B 16, db. 45684; a copy of the document, preserved in the Romanian National Archives, Sibiu County Service, Brukenenthal Collection, was published by I. Lupaș, *Documente istorice privitoare la moșiile brâncovenesti din Transilvania și Oltenia 1654-1823*, Cluj, 1933, pp. 36-37.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 30-39.

¹⁹ Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, VI (1700-1750), București, 1878, pp. 58-59; Paul Cernovodeanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-113.

freedom of action from those concerned. Only with their knowledge and consent, of Turkey, the suzerain power, above all, were there possible, within certain limits, the good relations and the rich exchange of letters with the warring parties (the imperial armies and the Kuruc) or potentially rival parties (the imperial and the Turkish armies). In practice, it was known that nothing could be obtained without giving something in return, including as regards the news about the rivalries and the evolution of military conflicts in Transylvania.

Against the background of permanently providing mutual information to the conflicting parties, the Romanian voivode was able to show his usefulness, without, however, assuming any military obligations and commitments, limiting himself to maintaining a benevolent neutrality. Within its frameworks and under the pressure of the ongoing events, he endeavoured, in his capacity as ruler of a neighbouring country with prestige at the time, to respond to the requests for help coming from either the imperial officials and the nobility supporting them, or from the Kuruc camp. Hence, the regularity and intensity of his epistolary exchange with the German military commanders in Sibiu and Braşov, with some of their noble associates, such as Ladislau Bethlen, or, conversely, with Francis Rákóczi II and his collaborators, above all, with Lawrence Pekri and Michael Mikes.²⁰ To solve more important issues and, generally, to strengthen good neighbourly or friendship relations, he also resorted to sending messengers and emissaries, as was the case of the Kuruc envoys Iacob Grabarics (1707)²¹ and Pápai János (1708).²²

Regarding the correspondence Constantin Brâncoveanu carried, at the time, with Transylvania, some clarifications are required. The correspondence the voivode and the high dignitaries of the country received has not been preserved to this day. Presumably, when the prince was deposed and executed, most of the letters, if there were still any left, were destroyed. In addition, unlike in Transylvania, in Wallachia it was not customary to copy some letters of interest and put them into circulation. About the rich correspondence Constantin Brâncoveanu received, we have reliable information from several letters sent to the Transylvanian, central and city officials, to the Kuruc leaders headed by Francis Rákóczi II, to great nobles and merchants, to various clergymen, etc. The letters Latin included in the annexes of the present study actually represent such a correspondence of replies, sent by the voivode to the noble Ladislau Bethlen, in Sibiu and Vienna in the years 1707-1709, under autograph signature in Cyrillic script and with the application of the princely seal, as well as with a legend in Slavic or Latin.²³

²⁰ The correspondence in Latin and Hungarian the with leaders of the Kuruc was published by Paul Cernovodeanu, "Din corespondența diplomatică a lui Constantin Brâncoveanu," in *Revista Arhivelor*, LXII(1985), No. 3, pp. 339-343; LXIII(1986), No.1, pp. 56-62; No. 3, pp. 313-315.

²¹ *Ibidem*, LXIII(1986), No. 1, pp. 57-59.

²² *Törökországi naplói*, Benda Kálmán ed., Budapest, 1963, pp. 266-269; *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, VIII, București, 1983, pp. 231-233.

²³ The National Archives, Cluj County Branch (SJAN Cluj), Bethlen de Criş Fund, No. 37, leaves 1-8. The princely letters of 31 November 1708 and 10 August 1709 carry the voivode's red wax seal, which is well preserved and has the following legend in Latin: "† CONSTANTINVS BASARABA BRANC.

Although they were more numerous and drafted according to usual protocol, also in Latin, the letters addressed to the Romanian prince by Comes Ladislau Bethlen, the Gubernium representative at the Court of Vienna, have not been preserved. Through their content, Brâncoveanu's answers are part of the effort to preserve and perpetuate, in the spirit of a generation-old traditions, the good relations and the friendship with the leading representatives of the nobility in the principality. In this case the recipient of the princely letters was a pro-Habsburg noble, influential in the Aulic circles in Vienna and the member of a prestigious Transylvanian family, which gave the country a number of politicians, from chancellors to princely and, then, Gubernium councillors. Given the establishment of Habsburg dominion in Transylvania, Ladislau Bethlen (1675-1717) opted, along with Governor George Bánffy, Treasurer Stephen Apor, Aulic Chancellor Samuel Kálnoki and others, to support the strengthening of the new political regime. He tried to benefit from adopting this position, becoming Gubernium councillor and Supreme Comes of Târnava County. He carried out several missions in Vienna at the Gubernium's behest, as its permanent representative, culminating with his membership in the country's Deputation (*Landesdeputation*), established in 1709. During the war of the Kuruc (1703-1711), he was constantly in the pro-imperial camp, being used by the nobles to settle their often tense relations with the Emperor and the Court in Vienna.

In the circumstances of the military confrontation and uncertain roads in Transylvania, the correspondence of the officials in Sibiu with Vienna was conducted across Wallachia; so was the movement of people, including of Adam Zöldi, the servant, for the connections with Vienna, of Ladislau Bethlen and other nobles from the families Bánffy, Wesselényi, Kálnoki, etc. Adam Zöldi's visit and sojourn at the princely courts enabled Constantin Brâncoveanu to learn from him information and news from the imperial capital and from Transylvania concerning the fights of the Kuruc or the results of the Anglo-Dutch mediation efforts. The presence in Vienna of Comes Ladislau Bethlen over the course of several years²⁴ and the Romanian voivode's good relations with him could bring the latter other important services too, such as the mediation and quicker fulfilment of his requests regarding the renewal of his letters patent and the right to buy estates across the mountains. This would explain the generosity of the voivode who, in the letter he sent from Bucharest on 5 May 1707, reminded Bethlen that in the past he had lent him 4,000 florins but that now, due to his expenditures with the Porte, he could only give his secretary Adam Zöldi 100 leonine thalers for the journey he would undertake to Vienna.²⁵

Amid the same financial shortages, in the fall of 1707, more precisely on 27 September and 27 November, Constantin Brâncoveanu received two letters from Ladislau Bethlen in which he was asked to pay the latter's debts to the Magistrate of

D. G. ELECTVS VAIVODA ET PRIPS. VALAE" whose integral form is: "† *Constantinus Basaraba Brancovanus Dei gratia electus vaivoda et princeps Valachiae.*"

²⁴ According to one of Bethlen's statements, at a dinner on 28 October 1708, this sojourn had already lasted 5 years, cf. Wesselényi István, *Sanyarú világ. Napló 1703-1708*, Közzéteszi Demény Lajos, Magyari András, II, București, 1985, p. 702.

²⁵ SJAN Cluj, Bethlen de Criș Fund, No. 37, leaf 1.

the town of Sibiu. In the reply he sent from Bucharest on 5 February 1708, the prince stated that “because of the times,” he could not meet this request for now, but that out of respect for the old friendship with him and his predecessors, he would strive to do so. He also said he had been informed by his man in Sibiu, probably Teodor Ladislau Dindar, whom he had ordered on three occasions to intervene with the town magistrate regarding his debt, but that the institution from Sibiu would not give him a reply in writing. He would learn further, more extensive details from Adam Zöldi.²⁶

The following letter, sent by the prince from Potlogi on 17 July 1708, was one of courtesy rather, occasioned by the return of Secretary Adam Zöldi to Brâncoveanu’s court. On this occasion, Ladislau Bethlen was reassured, once again, of his usual friendship and good will, the carrier of the letter being ready to confirm that the voivode was ready and willing to offer his services. The letter included a question about Comes Nicholas Bethlen,²⁷ former Chancellor of Transylvania, charged with treason and sent under escort from custody in Sibiu into prison in Vienna, where he would actually pass away.²⁸

As it was customary with many prominent nobles of Transylvania, as well as with some of the senior officers of the Saxon towns, Ladislau Bethlen requested from Cerneț, in a letter dated 1 November 1708, that the Romanian voivode should grant him some favours, presumably by exempting him from customs duty on imported wines or taxes for the livestock raised in the Wallachia. In his reply from 7 November 1708, Constantin Brâncoveanu promised, after greetings and good wishes, his approval of those requested within the limit of possibility. He was to give commands to his captains in this regard. He concluded by reiterating the greetings and with the assurance that he would remain the same friend of old.²⁹

Since in Transylvania there were endless military confrontations between the imperial forces and the Kuruc, from mid-1707 on the latter embarking on a path of defeat, many of the vanquished were forced to go into exile, seeking refuge across the Carpathians. Despite the authorities’ efforts, both in Moldova and in Wallachia, roads and journeys became highly unsafe. Various fugitives and defectors from the army, political outcasts and prison escapees were constrained by shortages and deprived of food, regrouping themselves as highwaymen and robbing travellers. The insecurity of movements mainly affected various couriers and envoys, including those in the service of Comes Ladislau Bethlen. Hence, his intervention with the Romanian voivode that under such special circumstances, he should be offered support and protection while travelling through the country. The awaited answer was positive, Brâncoveanu promising him, in the letter dated 31 November 1708, the same support he had been offered on other similar occasions.³⁰

In the winter of 1708-1709, the situation appears to have worsened considerably and the measures taken by the voivode had proved insufficient, further

²⁶ SJAN Cluj, Bethlen de Criș Fund, No. 37, leaf 2.

²⁷ SJAN Cluj, Bethlen de Criș Fund, No. 37, leaf 3.

²⁸ Nicolae Bethlen, *Descrierea vieții sale de către el însuși*, trans. Francisc Pap, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, p. 304.

²⁹ SJAN Cluj, Bethlen de Criș Fund, No. 37, leaves 4 and 7.

³⁰ SJAN Cluj, Bethlen de Criș Fund, No. 37, leaf 5.

attacks and robberies of travellers being registered. It was in such an incident one of that Ladislau Bethlen's men was killed, and this was brought to the attention of the voivode through a special envoy of the Transylvanian nobleman. In the letter he sent Bethlen from Târgoviște, on 10 August 1709, Constantin Brâncoveanu was sad to confess that he had learned about the murder, that the perpetrators had been caught and would be prosecuted and punished accordingly, in keeping with the principle of an "eye for an eye, a finger for a finger" (*oculum pro oculo, digitum pro digito*). He concluded with the usual greetings and good wishes, saying he was ready to be of service to him.³¹

In addition to conveying the concrete nature of various events, the language of the letters remains marked by caution, designed to avoid revealing the secrets hidden behind the skilfully worded texts. In fact, the succinct written message was almost always accompanied by a thorough verbal one, transmitted, in this case, through Secretary Adam Zöldi, the customary bearer of these letters. The Latin text of these epistles encapsulates hidden meanings and connotations, offering only implied hints, specific, in a way, to language diplomatic. Princely scribes knew to use concealment in order to eschew stating certain things directly, which, if known to third parties, could have done harm. The letters proved to be a model of adroitness. The importance of the message resides less in its direct information as in the ideas suggested by cunning words, the text remaining formulated in general terms.

The vocabulary of the letters, the formulas of address and end, with the strict and proper use of the titles referring to institution and to the positions of individuals, all these involved a long tradition and a thorough practice of epistolary exchanges. Constantin Brâncoveanu's diplomatic correspondence, "written in a Baroque Latin,"³² is distinguished by the elegance of its style and of the protocol formulas. Some phrases in the letters refer to precepts in the sacred texts, while others occasion reflections on legal philosophy (the law of talion), etc. The lack of firm promises to fulfil various requests, the procrastination of replying to certain letters, the expression of formal regrets accompanied by the usual courtesy and verbal politeness represented customary rhetorical practices in the chancelleries of the time. The use of such writerly practices in Brâncoveanu's chancellery proves, above all, its professionalism, achieved through the use of specialist permanent staff, with a good knowledge of foreign languages and familiarised with the issues of diplomacy.

It can be said that in an era of military confrontations and overt attempts to reconfigure the European political map, diplomacy and the mutual exchange of letters and emissaries between Wallachia and Transylvania showed their full effectiveness towards maintaining good neighbourly relations between the two countries. It was to this epistolary flux that the correspondence between Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu and Comes Ladislau Bethlen also belonged, representing one of the facets of the

³¹ SJAN Cluj, Bethlen de Criș Fund, No. 37, leaves 6-8.

³² Ana-Cristina Halichias, "Despre traducerea documentelor de arhivă scrise în limba latină," in *Revista Arhivelor*, LXIII(1986), No. 1, p. 77.

* The envelope and seal are missing.

complex ensemble of connections established between the two neighbouring countries.

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I

5 May 1707, Bucharest.

Illustrissime Domine Comes amic<e> nobis observandissime.

Quod ob plurimas extraordinarias mandato Portae fiendas expensas, pro petitione Illustritatis Vestrae (quam alias libenter praestitissemus 4/m florenorum mutuo dare, pro nunc non potuerimus, non nobis, sed tempori annuit velit imputari; verum tamen Illustritatis Vestrae secretario, domino Adamo Zoldi (qui nemine Illustritatis Vestrae quo itineris ad eandem Viennam faciendo, a nobis petiit) centum talleros leoninos mutuo dari curavimus, ulteriorem quoque nostrum favorem erga Illustritatem Vestram, pro ratione, ac opportunitate temporis praestandum pollicemur. His de reliquo cuncta quo voto Illustritatis vestrae dum apprecamur prosperas manemus.

Eiusdem Illustritatis Vestrae amici benevoli Kostandin Brankovan (in Cyrillic script)

Datum Bukureszti, die 5 Maji 1707.

The National Archives, Cluj County Branch (SJAN Cluj), *Bethlen de Criş Fund*, No. 37, leaf 1*.

II

5 February 1708, Bucharest.

Illustrissime Domine Comes, Domine observandissime.

Tam de vigesima septima Septembris, quam etiam vigesima septima Novembris anni hinc elapsi, exaratas Illustritatis Vestrae non ita quidem accepimus, continentiasque ipsarum audivimus, et licet modernis temporibus cum afflicta tota patria inconsuetis gravaminibus oppressi simus, ut vix sufficere possimus; tamen ob antiquam, quam coluimus cum antecessoribus Illustritatis Vestrae amicitiam, propensi fuisset gratificari in desiderio eiusdem; nisi amplius â nostro Cibinio homine informaremur (cui desuper ordines ter dederamus, ut cum magistrata rem conferat, et reale â se responsum accipiat) Cibiniensem magistratum nolle recognitiales nobis super debito Illustritatis Vestrae extradere, sicut haec ipsa ab aliis, tum â secretario suo, domino Zöldi intelligere fusius poterit Illustritatis Vestra, quam his divinae protectione committimus manentes.

Illustritatis vestrae.

Ad serviend<um> parati Konstandin Brankovan (in Cyrillic script)

Bukuresti, 5 Februarii 1708.

SJAN Cluj, *Fond Bethlen din Criș*, No. 37, leaf 2*.

III

17 July 1708, Potlogi.

Illustrissime Domine, Domine observandissime.

Occasione, quâ pergit ad Illustritatem Vestram suus secretarius, generosus dominus Zöldi praesentibus eandem invisere voluisse illa antiqua cum antecessoribus Illustritatis Vestrae praehabita ac cum eadem continuata amicitia, bonaque cointelligentia desiderans, ut ipsam in optatissimo salutis et prosperitatis statu offendant.

Dicto domino secretario, que in respectu ! Illustritatis Vestrae sunt, tam hic, quam pro viatico praestita, benevolo animo ipse exponere, atque declarare Illustritati Vestrae poterit, qui aequè in aliis promptissimus et paratissimus semper sum; id unum adjungendo annue desiderans, ut quandoque rerum occurrentias, quarum materiam non reor modernis temporibus sterilem, mihi esse sua bonitate, sicut et de honorifica persona illustrissimi domini comitis Nicolai Bethlen, in quo nam statu repetiatur? occasionibus datis significare dignetur, quod dum â sua nobilissima humanitate praestolor, maneo.

Illustritatis Vestrae.

Ad servitia paratissimi

Konstandin Brankovan (in Cyrillic script)

Potloczy, 17 Julii 1708.

SJAN Cluj, *Fond Bethlen din Criș*, No. 37, leaf 3.

IV

7 November 1708, Târgoviște.

Illustrissime Domine, Domine observandissime.

Quas sub prima praesentis Czerneczio ad me Illustritas Vestra esse sua bonitate exaravit, grato accepi animo, congratulatio ejus foelicem redditum, in incolumitate, pariterque usque terminum prosequi iter feliciter inauguror.

Quod aliquas gratiarum actiones dicere nitetur Illustritas Vestra, non esse quare cum competenter. Amico et vicino occurri nequit, tum propter concussae Patriae vires (quas videre licet) tum propter vias diseo modas; id tamen quae possibilitatis sunt, et capitaneis meis Illustritati Vestrae ad succurrendum ordinavi, bono animo acceptare Illustritas Vestra velit, qui et in aliis, quae pro posse fuerint, sicut hactenus gratificari benevole, tanquam amico antiquitate illustri paratissimo animo sunt, unde ejus

quoque allegatam divertendi huc non potuisse, causam arendes accepto, gratumque adventum promissum praesbolans maneo.

Illustritatis Vestrae.

Ad servitia paratus Konstandin Brankovan (in Cyrillic script)

Tergovisti 7 Novembris 1708.

< *Appendix: the envelope with the address and the red wax seal of the ruler, very well preserved. Legend in the Slavonic language* >

Illustrissimo Domino, Domino Ladislao comiti â Bethlen, Excelsi Regii Transilvaniae Gubernii, ad Augustam Aulam Deputato, Domino Amico Observandissimo.

Cibinii.

SJAN Cluj, *Fond Bethlen din Criș*, No. 37, leaf 4, 7.

V

31 November 1708, Târgoviște.

Illustrissime Domine, Domine observandissime.

Quod esse sinum datis humanissimis literis, conetur illustritas vestrae aliquas gratiarum actiones pro transitu per hanc provinciam facto pendere, id ipsum in bonitatem Illustritatem Vestrae unde et emanavit, redundat, et â me adscribitur, qui et in aliis occasionibus me promptissimum gratificari cum offeram, defectus comissos fors ob vicissitudines concussae patriae hujus ignoscendos desidero, atque maneo,

Illustritatis vestrae

Servire paratissimus Konstandin Brankovan (in Cyrillic script)

Tergovisti, 31 Novembris 1708.

< *Appendix: the envelope with the address and the red wax seal of the ruler, very well preserved. Legend in the Latin language: “† CONSTANTINVS BASARABA BRANC. D. G. ELECTVS VAIVODA ET PRIPS. VALAE” whose integral form is: “† Constantinvs Basaraba Brancovanvs Dei gratia electvs vaivoda et princeps Valachiae”* >

Illustrissimo Domino, Domino Ladislao, comiti de Bethlen, Excelsi Regni Transilvaniae Gubernii ad Augustam Aulam deputatoque, Domino Observandissimo. Viennae.

SJAN Cluj, *Fond Bethlen din Criș*, No. 37, leaf 5.

VI

10 August 1709, Târgoviște.

Illustrissime Domine, Domine observandissime.

Dolenter casum vel potius fatum occisi hominis Illustritatis Vestrae inteliximus, sed cum sint ordinarie per universum orbem mala mixta bonis; hinc pro bonis parata

merita, pro malis statuta secundum leges etiam humanas pro merita poenae; ipsis nosciis adductis huc hominibus, qui inculpantur de morte defuncti, quomodo iudicium factum, et quali poena condemnati sunt praesens homo expressus Illustritati Vestrae distincte referre poterit; sicut et de aliis requisitis, que habuit: hoc tamen firmum teneat et assecurata sit Illustritas Vestra, quam primum certitudinem de persona habituri sumus, mortem pro merita non effugiet occisor, secundum illud Divinum oculum pro oculo, digitum pro digito. Atque haec pro responso cum candido nostro et pristino amicabile affectu Illustritati Vestrae nota duximus, quam Divinae tutelae comittentes manemus.

Illustritatis vestrae

Servire paratissimi Konstandin Brankovan (in Cyrillic script)

Tergovisti, 10 Augusti 1709.

< *Appendix: the envelope with the address and the red wax seal of the ruler, very well preserved. Legend in the Latin language* >

Illustrissimo Domino, Domino Ladislao, comiti â Bethlen, Excelsi Regii Transilvaniae Gubernii ad Augustam Aulam deputato etc. Domino Amico Observandissimo.

Cibinii.

SJAN Cluj, *Fond Bethlen din Criș*, No. 37, f.6-8.

AN UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPT ABOUT THE RELEGATION OF VOIVODE CONSTANTIN BRÂNCOVEANU

Abstract: In 1718 there appeared in Venice *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia*, written by Anton-Maria Del Chiaro, who was, at first, secretary of the princely court chancellery of Wallachia during the reign of Constantin Brâncoveanu, and then tutor to the children of the latter's successor to the throne, Ștefan Cantacuzino. The book presents the author's two-decade experience in a Christian country located at the gates of the Orient and provides a genuine overview of the Romanian society at the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the next. Many of the aspects recounted by the Italian are unique and cannot be found in the writings of other chroniclers of the time, which is why historiography has always sought confirmations from other preserved documentary sources. One such example is the scene of Voivode Constantin Brâncoveanu's relegation in the spring of 1714. In the fund of the Department of Manuscripts from the Cluj-Napoca Branch of the Romanian Academy Library, there is kept an original version of a manuscript compiled by an anonymous author, bearing the title *Brevis Descriptio Fatalis casus principis Valachiae Constantini Bassarabae Brancovan Anno 1714 (mille septingenti quatuordecim) die vero quarta mensis Aprilis Bukurestini Executa*, which refers to the aforementioned moment. It confirms the veracity of Del Chiaro's account and, at the same time, it represents a new, unpublished historical source about the dramatic events from the beginning of the 18th century in Wallachia.

Keywords: Wallachia, Constantin Brâncoveanu, the Ottoman Porte, Anton-Maria Del Chiaro, unpublished manuscript.

*

In 1718, there appeared in Venice a relatively modest printed text in terms of its number of pages, which was nonetheless rich in informational content. This is the reason why it was and continues to this day, to be highly appreciated by all those who are interested in the history of Wallachia during the timespan between the late 17th century and the beginning of the 18th. The author of the book entitled *Istoria delle moderne rivoluzioni della Valachia*,² a Florentine named Anton-Maria Del Chiaro,³ had been unknown, until then, in the literary landscape of the peninsula. In his memoir-based work, he offered Italian readers the experience he had lived in a European country located near the gates of the Orient, Muntenia, at first, as secretary of the court chancellery during the reign of Constantin Brâncoveanu and, then, as tutor to the children of the latter's successor to the throne, Ștefan Cantacuzino. In the nearly two decades he spent on Romanian soil, through the frequent journeys he

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² In Romanian translation, it appeared under the title *Revoluțiile Valahiei* (Wallachia's Revolutions), Iași: Editura Viața Românească, 1929, after a text from 1914 that was re-edited by Nicolae Iorga.

³ For biographical and bibliographical references concerning Anton-Maria Del Chiaro, see [www.treccani.it/Dizionario Biografico](http://www.treccani.it/Dizionario/Biografico) di Gino Benzoni.

undertook, also obliged by the nature of the office he filled, he managed to acquire thorough knowledge of the country and its people, the culture and the habits of the people here, from the simple peasants in the country to the well-off boyars. He also came to know the typical religious holidays of the Romanians and the practices associated with the Orthodox rite, the hierarchy and the everyday life at the court of the sovereign, the political relations between the Wallachian rulers and the Ottoman Empire, etc. In his narrative, particular attention is given to four rulers. He met some of them only tangentially (Șerban Cantacuzino, Nicolae Mavrocordat), while others he even served in different capacities (Constantin Brâncoveanu, Ștefan Cantacuzino). As secretary of the princely chancellery, he observed closely the intricate off-stage mechanisms of power during Brâncoveanu's reign, a ruler to whom he had also become sentimentally attached, which is why the latter occupies a larger space in the aforementioned memoirist account. This represents, in many respects, an unequalled historiographical source for the period of Brâncoveanu's reign in Wallachia. Besides being highly valuable, the historical information offered by Del Chiaro's writing is also often unique; among other things, he is, to our knowledge, the only author from the beginning of the 18th century who described in detail the dethronement of the Wallachian ruler by the representatives of the Sultan of Constantinople in the spring of 1714. This very aspect of singularity, characteristic of the dramatic events described (the published text includes several other episodes of this kind), caused a certain reluctance, among some historians, to unquestionably accept the Italian's claims, at least until the emergence of new, similar evidence provided by other authors who were contemporary with the events presented, making it possible to confront and substantiate the information in Del Chiaro's account.

In the fund of the Department of Manuscripts from the Cluj-Napoca Branch of the Romanian Academy Library, there is preserved – also in an original version – yet another document referring to the moment of Constantin Brâncoveanu's relegation, a document that may represent an argument upholding the veracity of Del Chiaro's account and serve, at the same time, as a new historical and informative source about the dramatic events that took place in Wallachia at the beginning of the 18th century. The original text, entitled *Brevis Descriptio Fatalis casus principis Valachiae Constantini Bassarabae Brancovan Anno 1714 (mille septingenti quatuordecim) die vero quarta mensis Aprilis Bukurestini Executa*,⁴ has so far remained unvalorised by the Romanian historiography.

The manuscript describes the events that occurred in Bucharest on 3-6 April 1714. The writing preserved in the above-mentioned collection may be regarded as information attached to a private or to a diplomatic letter. Personally, we are inclined to credit the latter version, according to which the author must have been the official of a European state, sent to the court of Wallachia's ruler for a purpose that is not revealed in the text itself. It is not clear whether he came to Bucharest at the same time as the Turkish army or whether he already was, in that period, in the capital of Muntenia, in Brâncoveanu's entourage. It is a well-known fact that the Wallachian

⁴ Library of the Romanian Academy - Cluj-Napoca Branch. Department of Manuscripts. The Kemény József Collection.

ruler entertained secret high-level relations with several European monarchs,⁵ and that they sent, in turn, officials entrusted with the mission to inform the entire continent about the Turks' movements and intentions in the Balkan area. An argument in favour of a foreign diplomatic presence is provided by the stereotypical language used therein. The description of an event is short, clear and precise, without unnecessary flourishes. Where necessary, further explanation is given, sometimes with a didactic intent, which suggests that the addressee required these details in order to properly understand the information conveyed to him. By contrast, the author of the narrative is familiar with both Turkish and the administrative structures of the Ottoman Empire. For example, he explains what responsibilities the position of *kapudju* of the Porte⁶ entails, the meaning of the words *masil*⁷ or *hatiserif*.⁸ He reproduces a summary of the speech delivered by the *kapudju* in Osman in the prince's audience hall, after which he also transcribes the speech of the envoy of the Ottoman court at Văcărești. All the aforementioned aspects denote that the person whom he addressed was definitely not from Transylvania, for the explanations highlighted by the writer would have been known here, even by persons with a lower political and intellectual training. What remains to be done is to search, in Central or Western Europe, the recipient to whom our unknown author sent this description.

The essence of the 4 pages of the report fully confirms the data in Del Chiaro's writing about the moment of Brâncoveanu's dismissal. Sometimes, the two sources complement each other with elements that eluded or were unknown to either of the authors, of course, all to the benefit of historiography. But let us reconstruct, in what follows, the moments of the Wallachian ruler's arrest, using as a starting source the anonymous manuscript from Cluj. We shall complete the gaps then with the information included in the creation of the Italian Del Chiaro, who is more generous in the details he supplies.

The preamble of the arrest action started on **3 April 1714**, with the arrival in Bucharest, at the order of the Vizier from Constantinople, of the *kapudju* of the Imperial Porte (*Aulae Supremi Sultani Camerarius*).⁹ The latter had accompanied 1,200 workers sent to carry out a task on the Prut River. Once in the capital, he sent a delegation to announce his presence at the princely court for the next day.

*

Del Chiaro's account does not feature this episode. However, we learn other interesting details from him: the name of the *kapudju* was Aga Mustafa, one of Brâncoveanu's oldest friends at the Porte, and his destination appears to have been the fortress of Hotin; the day of the arrival was Tuesday, 4 April, the third day of Easter

⁵ The Ottomans' first count of indictment against Constantin Brâncoveanu was that he had maintained a secret correspondence with the Emperor of Austria, the Tsar of Russia, the King of Poland and the Venetian doges.

⁶ *Kaputschi Bassa-Aulae Supremi Sultani Camerarius, se non Camerarium*.

⁷ *masil* (*idest degradatum*).

⁸ *decretum Imperatorium (hatischeriff dictum)*.

⁹ The porter of the seraglio from Constantinople, the chamberlain (quartermaster) of the Ottoman sultan.

in the Christian calendar. This last detail, which is highly important, betrays the princely secretary's dating mistake; based on the specifications made by the Italian, the date in the original manuscript from Cluj, 3 April, was the correct chronology. The error is understandable, since Del Chiaro wrote his memoirs a few years after the facts he narrated. The different terminologies used in the two sources for the position Mustafa occupied in the Ottoman hierarchy (pasha, aga) represent by no means a fault of either of the authors. Both titles were employed to designate a high-ranking official in the political system of Constantinople.

4 April. According to custom, the next morning Brâncoveanu sent to the *kapudju*'s place of abode a festively adorned horse and a body of Seymen soldiers to accompany him to the palace. With an escort of about 30 Muslim soldiers, he entered the reception hall where the prince, descended from the throne, was already on his way to greet him in a friendly manner. The newly arrived, however, without further ado, snapped at him that under the supreme decree of the sultan, he would be deposed and compelled to leave, with his entire family, for the Porte, under the direct supervision of the Ottoman *imbrohor* (*Supremum Stabuli Magistrum Imperatoris*).¹⁰ Amidst the general consternation, the *kapudju* read, then, in Turkish, in front of all those present, the firman of the Porte with all the accusations of infidelity levelled against Brâncoveanu, which included: meeting with the Tsar's emissaries at Brăila; providing the Russians with food supplies; the introduction a new system of taxation on the country that had spoliated the people; the failure to comply with the place of residence imposed by the Turkish authorities and the establishment, at his sole discretion, of another such place, where he lived for longer periods of time than in Bucharest.¹¹ Amid the commotion and uproar created by this unexpected occurrence, the *kapudju* then addressed himself, in a threatening tone, to the boyars present at the event in the reception hall, telling them that if they did not accept the sultan's directive and did not vouchsafe the arrest of the ruler and his family, he was under orders to summon the Tartars, as soon as possible, to devastate the entire country. Under such circumstances, unprepared for such forceful action, the Wallachian courtiers unanimously decided to abide by the decree of the Porte and to take Brâncoveanu and his relatives under their guard. This was followed by Turkish officials speedily sealing the location of the treasury and of the voivode's private treasure, after which the *kapudju* returned to his place of accommodation. At noon, in the general confusion instituted in Bucharest, the *imbrohor* arrived accompanied by not too large a suite, of about 200 Ottoman soldiers,¹² whose purpose was, for now, not known to the population. He set camp in the immediate proximity of the capital, whence he came to the sultan's quartermaster, to inquire about the course of events from the princely palace.

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¹⁰ The overseer of the Ottoman sultan's stables, who was sometimes sent to the Romanian Countries on a mission to relegate the ruler in office and, then, to enthrone a new one.

¹¹ The reference is to Mogoșoaia Palace.

¹² An uncertain figure because of the manner in which the document was arranged into book form.

An extremely hectic day for the political life of Wallachia, rendered almost identically – with small exceptions – by both sources. In fact, the two texts complement each other. The anonymous author of the unpublished manuscript from Cluj knew, approximately, of course, the number of the *kapudju*'s escorts, he pinpointed the specific accusations made against Brâncoveanu in the sultan's relegation ordinance, faithfully conveyed the discussions Mustafa Aga engaged in, at the princely audience hall, with the Wallachian boyars, and insisted on their reactions. By contrast, Del Chiaro described the concrete way in which the relegation unfolded and knew many other details about what had occurred outside the audience hall where the sovereign's dethronement had taken place. Thus, he showed that the palace doors had been guarded by heavily armed elite soldiers in the service of the Grand Vizier, who had been brought in specifically to prevent anyone from getting out of or entering the room, and whose mission, in case of necessity, was to intervene in force. He then described the atmosphere in the streets of Bucharest, the rumours regarding the attempts of the ruler's son to flee to Italy or the imminent attack by an army of 12,000 Turks on the capital. He lived intensely the events happening before his eyes, openly showed his sympathy for the drama Brâncoveanu and his family went through and insisted on their human reactions throughout the entire day.

5 April. In the morning, the *imbrohhor* convened the boyars from Bucharest to Văcărești, to accompany him to the place of abode reserved for him in the capital. The procession was carried out with great pomp, in the sound of music, everyone being in good humour. Here the *imbrohhor* read to the people present a new hattî-sherîf issued by the Sultan, declaring once again, officially, Brâncoveanu's dethronement on the grounds of infidelity. He presented the order issued by the Porte Sovereign that the nobles should elect a new ruler, leaving at their discretion whether the designated person would be indigenous or a foreigner. On hearing the variants offered by the imperial decree, those present shouted in a chorus that they did not want a foreign ruler, but one from their own ranks. The decision concerning the nomination of the new Wallachian sovereign was delayed until after the Ottoman officials' lunch. After eating, the assembly met again with the envoys from Constantinople, and the boyars communicated their decision regarding the ruler they had chosen, i.e., the high sword-bearer (*Supremum Regni Generale*) Ștefan Cantacuzino, approved both by the *kapudju* and by the *imbrohhor*. On hearing his name invoked and the acclamations that resounded everywhere, the elected ruler tried to flee for fear of impending misfortune, but was detained by the soldiers and brought, against his will, before the emissaries of the sultan. They explained to him and to those present that they received a refusal from the nominee, they had an imperial mandate to summon the Ottoman troops, which were already by the country's border, ready to intervene, and consisting of 4,000 Tatars and 6,000 Turks. Moreover, they had upon them two more hattî-sherîfs issued by the Porte for summoning 40,000 Tatars and 1,200 from the contingent stationed in Sofia, in to put the country to fire and sword. Hearing these ominous words, they all agreed to designate Ștefan Cantacuzino as the new ruler. There followed the enthronement ceremony. The *imbrohhor* was called to place the princely kaftan on the shoulders of the elected ruler,

in the name of the sultan and amid the cheers of those present. After putting on his coat, a Turkish parade horse was brought in, pompously equipped, which was mounted by Ștefan Cantacuzino, guarded, on the left, also on horseback, by the *kapudju* and by the *imbrohör* on the right. The whole procession, cheerfully accompanied by cheers and volleys of weapons, as well as by about 1,000 soldiers, headed then to the princely palace in Bucharest. Before crossing the threshold of his new residence, the recently elected ruler went first to the metropolitan church in Bucharest to receive the blessing of the Orthodox superior. Once the ceremony was concluded, the Turks began to tackle a much more important mission for them, taking over the country's treasury and Brâncoveanu's wealth, previously sealed.

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The information found in both sources is consistent regarding this day. In Del Chiaro's account, there are more colourful details through which the events are rendered: the events took place on Holy Thursday and the feast of the Annunciation, the kaftan placed on Ștefan Cantacuzino's shoulders was not princely, but improvised, as the *kapudju* took his own coat off and put it on the new ruler's shoulders (subsequently, the high sword-bearer's own kaftan was brought and Cantacuzino was enthroned wearing it), the coronation process is presented in utmost detail, as is the homage paid by the boyars, who kissed the hand of the elected voivode. The Italian also mentioned three relatively significant moments that the anonymous manuscript from Cluj did not convey. First, the preamble to the action of electing Cantacuzino as a ruler. In the description, there appears the sword-bearer's refusal to seize power and his fleeing attempt. By contrast, Del Chiaro recounts the subterfuges of this story with a moral. The Ottoman emissaries and the boyars were engaged in a series of intense disputes regarding the right person for the princely throne; all the proposals made by the boyars were rejected by the representatives of the Porte and Cantacuzino's final nomination was imposed by the will of the *kapudju*. What Brâncoveanu's secretary failed to mention, however, were the reasons why the boyars so easily accepted Cantacuzino's appointment, and the cause is found, as we have seen, in the lines of the narrative manuscript we have presented. In fact, Del Chiaro reproduced even the suspicion of several domestic power holders, showing that all this performance had been orchestrated by the Cantacuzino family, first at the Porte, and then continued and directed here, in the country. The second issue that was not mentioned by our anonymous author was the visit undertaken by the new ruler to the place of Brâncoveanu's house arrest and the dialogue with him. In their conversation, the new ruler assured Brâncoveanu of his total innocence in the action of involuntary enthronement and commended the merits of the detainee. Contrary to all the ceremonies of the Princely Court, throughout their meeting Ștefan Cantacuzino stood, while Brâncoveanu sat on a chair with the kuka on his head! The third information unrecorded or unknown by the manuscript from Cluj, but which can serve as an argument supporting the possibility that the Cantacuzinos had intervened in Constantinople to obtain the Wallachian throne was based on a reference coming from the boyars at the court. In Del Chiaro's account, immediately after the exchange

of courtesies between the two rulers, who would henceforth have a different power status, the new ruler, extremely impatient, proceeded straightaway to assign the positions in the state, replacing all of Brâncoveanu's followers with the nobles who were loyal to him. This haste left a negative impression not only on the Wallachian boyars, but also on the foreigners present in the capital; an incomprehensible gesture, all the more since the two were relatives and there was required a minimum respect for the old sovereign, who was still present in the chambers of the same palace as a prisoner.

6 April. Around noon, the former ruler Constantin Brâncoveanu, with his four sons and three other members of his family (his daughters were allowed to remain in the country), accompanied by the *kapudju* of the Porte and military units, who were joined by three Walachian boyars, began the journey of no return to Constantinople. The first short stop was by the Danube, where the necessary preparations were made for crossing the river.

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The events of the day presented very briefly by our unknown author may be supplemented by other data from Del Chiaro's account. Thus, the latter states that attempts were made by some of the boyars to delay the departure because it was a feast day (Good Friday), but the advocates of the Cantacuzino party urged the *imbrohor* to set off with the convoy, claiming that there was the possibility of an Austrian attack that might lead to Brâncoveanu's release. The procession set off in the evening. On leaving the palace and climbing down the stairs, Ștefan Cantacuzino (bareheaded, without the kuka!) accompanied the former ruler to the carriage, where they had another brief conversation, in which the old voivode asked God for the forgiveness of his enemies' sins. The Italian, however, does not say anything concrete about the three relatives that accompanied him in captivity, stating that Brâncoveanu was joined, in his journey, by his wife, their four sons. He adds that the wife of the eldest son¹³ and the latter's child, together with Brâncoveanu's four sons-in-law remained in the capital. The princely secretary shows that the sad convoy reached the Danube the next morning, on the holy feast of Easter.

8 April. The procession crossed the river at Rusciuc; thence, it continued the journey to Constantinople.

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The information is found in both sources. With a divine invocation at the end, the manuscript preserved in the library from Cluj ends here, while Del Chiaro provides other images that complete the picture of that day. Thus, the *imbrohor* who remained in Bucharest opened the treasure sealed by the *kapudju* and made its inventory. Then, by public announcement, he continued the action of searching other prized possessions. He arrested Constantin Brâncoveanu's secret treasurer and his

¹³ The reference is to Constantin.

Prime Minister, Văcărescu,¹⁴ suspected to know of other hidden assets of the former ruler. However, the activity carried out by the *imbrohor* in Wallachia was above expectations, and the riches seized and transported to the Porte astonished even the sultan.

Including this unpublished manuscript, preserved in the cultural institution from Cluj, in the historiographical circuit will contribute to a better understanding of the biography of the Wallachian rulers from the beginning of the 18th century.

**Brevis Descriptio Fatalis Casus Principis Valachiae Constantini
Bassarabae de Brancován¹⁵ Anno 1714 die vero quarta mensis Aprilis
Bukurestini Executa.**

Die 3-tia Aprilis appulit Bukurestum Aulae Supremi Sultani Camerarius, Kapischti Bassa, se non Camerarium, verum ordinar Vezérii officialem pro educendis 1200 Laboratoribus hominum Flumen Pruth purgatum, ad Principem delegatum esse nominando, secunda die ~ idest quarta ejusdem [~] minit Princeps ornatum equum, ac Selymenones Milites, ut solito honore ad Aulam praefatus Turca Conventum Principem veniat, adveniens itaque Turca cum 30 circiter secum habentibus Turcis ad Principem eum praeprimis salutavit, ac illico effarus est dicens : Decretum Supremi Sultani est Te esse masil (idest degradatum) ac cum tota Domo Filiis tuis et Generis debere proficisci Constantinopolim, compatiar tibi ac doleo tám ingrata tibi tulissé mandata. Post haec verba Decretum Hatischeriff dictum per Turcicum scribam legi curat, cujus contentia haec erat : Si quidem nos Te Constantinum Brancovanum indignum ac infidelem reperivimus, qui Muscovitas Brailam duxisti, Annonam illis subministrasti, novas contributiones Regno imposuisti, ac per eas spoliasti, neque a nobis tibi destinata Residentia contentus fuisti, vérum tibi pro placito aliam constituisti Residentiam ibique magis plurimum residebas; Hos itaque ac etiam complures aliis ob tuos errores, a Principatu te degradamus, utque cum integra tua Domo et Familia huc ad nos venias mandamus, eum etiam in finem, nostrum Supremum Stabulae Praefectum ad te expedivimus. Quo mandato Sultani perlecto clamavit Turca: Bojarlár, Bojarlár, idest Bojarones sive Nobiles convorabat, concurrerunt, quibus indem exponendo Decretum Imperatoris, alloquutus est illos dicendo : An velitis Vestrum Principem ac ejus Filios et Generos, in Vestram summere Fidejussionem, ne quisquam illorum fugiat, donec accipiantur, vel véro mandatum ad Tartaros mittam (quistant parati) ut hanc inuant Provinciam totamque devastat responderunt Bojarones omnes praestare velle Fidejussionem pro Principe, quam Turca ab ipsis scripto tenus expetiit, ac ea accepta, proposuit itdem mandatum Supremum Sultani esse ut ac alterum habere, verum parati sunt cum praesente

¹⁴ The reference is to Ianche Văcărescu, who was executed at the Porte at the same time with the former voivode.

¹⁵ The diacritical marks belong to the author.

Principe con[...]¹⁶ Imperatore comparere, falsasque has refutare accusationes, q[ui] Bojaronum audito Sermone Turca, etsi ab ipsismet scripto tenus fidejussionem habuit, duos tamen suis pro custodia Principis constituit Turcas, illicoque ad Cameram seu Cassam c[um] reliquis suis Turcis properavit, interiorem etiam Principis Domum sub suum posuit sigillum, peractaque sigillatione ac vigiliis in omnibus Januis constitutis, prandisqui ibidem sumpt [...]¹⁷ ad suum se vertit hospitium, indeque venientem cum 200[...]¹⁸ circiter confinariis militibus Turcis Supremum Stabuli Magistrum Imperatoris de actione certioravit, quinta ejusdem idest sequenti die matutino tempore ipsummet etiam Supr[emum] Imperatoris Stabuli Praefectum ad vicinum Pagum Vakarest appulisse Bajarones percipiando, omnes obviam cum musica ac splendida Pompa iverunt, pariterqui Bukurestum ad dest [ra]¹⁹ natum Hospitium introduxerunt, ubi illico alterum Decretum Imperatorium (Hatischeriff dictum) in praesentia omnium perlectum est, cujus tenor erat hic : Cum nos Constantinum Br[an]covanum ob ejus infidelia acta degradati Jussimus, pleno nostro Supr[emum] Stabuli Praefecto dedimus facultatem, ut quem vos Regni nostri Valachiae Bajarones, pro Principis fideliter gerendo munere sive extraneum, sive de Gremis Vestri eligeritis, nomine nostro confirmet; Quod dum Bajarones lectum Imperatoris audiissent mandatum, exclamarunt omnes nolle extraneum, verum de Gremio Regni, quorum vere Supr[emum] Stabuli Praefectus audita, ad suas Domos illis pransum ac pensitatum discedendi (donec et ipse prandeat) ac iterum²⁰ redeundi facultatem pribuit. Prandis itaque iterum ad eundem Supremum Stabuli Praefectum, ibidemqui insimul existentem prius nominatum Kampischer Bassa omnes concurrerunt, ac una voce nutuqui omnes Stephanum Supremum Regni Generalem pro Principe elegisse exclamarunt, ipse vero Praefectus Stephanus hoc audito clamore effugere voluit, at fugam ei denegatam in praesentia duorum Praefectorum Imperatorum ministrorum invitatus etiam ductus est, cui Supremus Stabuli Praefectus locutus est in hanc modum : Situ Electionem Regni renuis Imperatoriae voluntati te reddis inobedientem, scitote itaque si renueris, habeo parata 6 millia confiniorum militum, item 4 millia Tartarorum in confiniiis, praeterquam quod et Decreta expediverim, unum ad Tartarorum Hannum, ut 40 millia Tartarorum suppeditet, alterum ad Soffiensem Bassam 1200 properet, in eum finem, si vel minimam Imperatoriae voluntati resistentiam fuero expertus illico totam Provinciam in Praedam tradam; Quibus verbis auditis Bojarones iterum exclamarunt: Hunc Stephanum eligimus, hunc volumus, hunc confirmatique²¹ rogamus, ad querum omnium exclamationem Stephanum Cantacuzenum toties dictus Stabuli Praefectus invitum etiam vestre Imperiali Kafftam dicta induit, nomineque sui Imperatoris, Valachiae Principem nominavit, auspicanibus Bajaronibus omnibus, aliisque adstantibus, Vivat, vivat. Indutum itaque

¹⁶ The letters are no longer discernible because of the system of binding the manuscript between the covers of the volume.

¹⁷ A few letters are covered because of the manuscript binding system.

¹⁸ A likely manner of reading due to the manuscript binding system.

¹⁹ A few letters are covered because of the manuscript binding system.

²⁰ The word was written twice, the first version being erased.

²¹ Next comes a word that was struck through.

vestre Imperiali Stephanum super ornatum Imperatorium Equum conscendere qvibet Turca, ipsisque ambobus equum conscendentibus Turcis, ad dextram scilicet ipso Supremo Stabuli Praefecto, ad sinistram vero Kampischtzi Bassa concomitantibus, reliqua etiam tota Bajarorum cohorte subsequente in residentiam introduxerunt, ubi praeprimis intrando Stephanus Princeps Ecclesiam debitas Deo fudit preces, et post in Palatium ductus, pro moreque solito a praefatis Turcis, totaque Bajarorum consessu inthronizatus est, quem etiam in signum laetitiae irmis[?] tormentorum ac 1000 circiter militum explosionibus sclopetorum salutarunt, cum magno omnium augurio, Vivat Princeps Stephanus. His ceremoniis peractis Turcae intimarunt deposito Principi velle illum crastina die e loco movere, uti et sequenti die 6-ta ejusdem circa meridiem una cum quatuor Filiis et tribus Generis (Filiabus in loco permissis) praefatum Principem sub suam custodiam Kapischtzi Bassa acceptum movit, comitati sunt ad unum fere miliare duae Compagni circiter militum Regni, tres vero Bajarones usque Danubium Ge[...]goffum²² appulit ibidem mansit, 8-va trajecit Danubium ad Rusztanch, inde iter continuavit Constantinopolium versus. Ipse vero Supremus Stabuli Praefectus mansit Bukuresti cuncta bona mobilia et immobilia depositi Principis conscripturus. Quid exhinc emerget Deo soli notum est, hoc unicum constat quod omnium bonorum Provisores in arrestum adduci curet, quosdam etiam favoritas praecedentis principis incaptivet.

²² One or two letters are covered because of the manuscript binding system. The reference is probably to Giurgiu.

COMMUNION THROUGH ART: TWO 17TH-CENTURY BELLS IN TWO CHURCHES FROM FĂGĂRAȘ*

Abstract: The bibliography on the history of civilisation and that of the history of fine arts in Romania includes a series of studies and books dedicated to the topic of bells, these traditional liturgical worship objects that animate the monuments of religious architecture. Art historians are faced with a wide field of research that entails not only the inventory of these liturgical items, but also the identification and study of the different workshops and the activity of the craftsmen and family enterprises that worked for the achievement thereof, especially insofar as the period of the 16th-20th centuries is concerned. Of course, specialised literature has recorded a series of outstanding examples of the genre, but it is equally true that the problem has been debated in the subsidiary of major, much more generous themes, of the kind pertaining to the formal architectural analysis of the monument.²

Despite the requisitioning of the inventory that included these religious objects during World War I, when the material they were made of was used in the war industry, the towers of the Transylvanian churches still retain a large number of testimonies of the genuine “industry,” to whose operation there also contributed, together with the local artisans, craftsmen belonging to well-known smithies in Central Europe.

Keywords: Făgăraș, bells, Churches, arts, Transylvania.

*

A future exhaustive repertoire of the bells from Transylvania could include works from the Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque and neo-Classical periods. We are still in a period of reporting the material, in which even an objectual presentation of the works could contribute to a better understanding of this theme, which is important not only for art history, but also for the history of crafts in Transylvania, of the relations with the cabinets of Central Europe.

The town of Făgăraș, the centre of the old Land of Făgăraș, is especially known through its architectural monuments (the bastion fortress, the church founded by

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* The first version of this study, in Romanian, entitled *Două clopote din veacul al XVII-lea din Făgăraș*, was published in the review *Ars Transsilvaniae*, IV, 1994, pp. 135-144.

² Müller, Fr., *Zur älteren siebenbürgische Glockenkunde*, in *AVSL*, VI, 1863, p. 200 and passim; Orbán Balázs, *A Székelyföld leirása*, Pesta, I, 1868, pp. 20, 23-25, 64, 106, 112-113, 117, 119-120, 140, 155, 157, 166, 175, 181, 191, 202, 219, 221, 224; II, 1869, pp. 20, 32, 34, 36, 41, 43-44, 88, 145; III, 1869, 12, 37, 50, 116-117, 118-119, 131, 181, 205; IV, 1870, pp. 60, 62, 68, 87, 128, 178, 186, 189, 194, 198; V, 1871, pp. 32, 56; VI, 1873; Victor Roth, *Geschichte des deutschen Kunstgewerbes in Siebenbürgen (Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, 104)*, Strassburg, 1908, pp. 6-7; Balogh Jolán, *Az erdélyi renaissance*, I (1460-1541), Cluj, 1943, pp. 152, 335; Virgil Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în țările române*, București, 1959, pp. 16, 9, 852-853; B. Nagy Margit, *Reneszansz és barokk Erdélyben*, București, 1970, pp. 295-296; Idem, *Stilusok, művek, mesterek. Művészettörténeti, tanulmányok*, București, 1977, pp. 178-179, 208; Benkő Elek, *Erdély középkori harangjai és bronz keresztelődmedencéi*, Budapest, Kolozsvár, 2002.

Brâncoveanu, the Reformed church, the Orthodox church, known as the church of the "Greeks," i.e. of the non-Uniate Romanians, the Franciscan monastery and the Evangelical church) or through the beautiful parietal paintings and iconostases of the Romanian churches.³ Nothing has been written about the pieces in the liturgical inventory, the objects of worship from the Orthodox church or about the Reformed church. In two of the churches from Făgăraș mentioned above there are preserved bells from the 17th century, works of notable artistic value, which are not mentioned in the specialised literature.

The first in the chronological order is the bell of the Reformed church in Făgăraș.⁴ The assembly (Fig. 1), counting also the mounting structures, has a total

³ N. Aron, *Monografia bisericii, școalelor și reuniunilor române din Făgăraș*, Făgăraș, 1913, p. 198; C. Petranu, *Die Kunstdankmäler des Siebenbürger Rumenen*, in *Melange d'Histoire Générale*, I, Cluj, 1927, pp. 197, 234; Șt. Meteș, *Relațiile bisericii românești ortodoxe din Ardeal cu Principatele române în veacul al XVIII-lea*, Sibiu, 1928, pp. 4-5, 31-32; Idem, *Zugravii bisericii române*, in *ACMIT*, 1926-1928, pp. 121-123; I. D. Ștefănescu, *La peinture religieuse en Valachie et en Transylvanie depuis les origines jusqu'au XIX-e siècle (Orient e Byzance)*, Paris, 1932, pp. 281-185; V. Literat, *Orașul și Țara Făgărașului*, Făgăraș, 1953; Grigore Ionescu, *Istoria arhitecturii în România*, II, București, 1965, pp. 79-80; I. Cristache-Panait, *Cu privire la unele monumente din Țara Făgărașului în lumina relațiilor cu "Țara Românească*, in *BMI*, XXXIX, 1970, no. 2, pp. 33-50; Ioana Cristache-Panait, E. Greceanu, *Biserici românești din Țara Făgărașului*, in *MA*, XVI, 1971, no. 7-8, pp. 567-573; Fl. Dumitrescu, *Sculptura brâncovenească*, in *PVAR*, 1974, pp. 39-40; M. Porumb, *Pictura românească din Transilvania, I*, Cluj-Napoca 1981, pp. 93-96; V. Drăguț, *Arta românească, I*, București, 1982, p. 459; Avram Andea, *Constantin Brâncoveanu și biserica românească din Făgăraș*, in *D. Prodan. Puterea modelului*, ed. Nicolae Bocsan, Nicolae Edroiu, Liviu Maior, Aurel Raduțiu, Pompiliu Teodor, Cluj-Napoca, 1995, pp. 84-100; Valeriu Literat, *Biserici Vechi Românești din Țara Oltului*, afterword, edition and index by Nicolae Sabău, Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1996.

⁴ The first building of the reformed church in Făgăraș was started in 1629 by Gabriel Bethlen and continued by his widow, Catherine of Brandenburg, who, in a letter dated 22 March 1630, appealed to the architect Giovanni Landi in Alba Iulia "ratione aedificandi Templi ipsius Fogarasensis cum magistris Lapidarijs." However, this place of worship was finished during the reign of George Rákóczi I (1631-1648). The chronicler Szalárdi states that the church, beautiful and low "so as not to deplete the town," was erected in the centre of the town (left to the river Berivoi). This church was seriously damaged in 1658, when the town was destroyed by the Tatars. The next church was built in the Great Square of the town by Michael Apafy I, the Prince Transylvanian, and his wife Ana Bornemisza. The place of worship, which was finished after 1663, stood in the area where the present-day evangelical church was built in 1843. The second Reformed church was destroyed in 1704, during the fights between the Kuruc of Fr. Rákóczi II and the Lobonts. The sanctuary was erected again between 1712 and 1715, in the vicinity of the former street of Hurez. The new monument's founders were Joseph Teleki and his wife Catherine Bethlen, known as Árva-Bethlen Kata. The one who brought his construction to this church was Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu, through a donation of 400 fl. For the new church, there were used building materials and decorative fragments of stone that came from the old place of worship. Inside the present-day Reformed church, there is preserved the beautiful pulpit carved in stone, with vegetal ornaments similar to the Brâncoveanu-type stonework, the gravestone of Maria Apafi, the young daughter of the prince, who died on 21 January 1666, and the emblem of the Reformed Consistory, a slab of stone incorporated in the stalls, decorated with an ellipsoidal framework charged with four medallions with the coats of arms of Rákóczi, Apafi, Bethlen and the crest of the town of Făgăraș. The field of the emblem features ecclesiastical symbols (see Gh. Sebestyén, *Arhitectura renașterii în Transilvania*, București, 1963, pp. 60, 63, 68, 69, 113, 196-199; Kovács

height of 90 cm. Without the aforementioned “ears,” the bell measures 76 cm in height and 87 cm on the interior diameter. The bell features a newer mounting and balancing device, cast in metal (the “Patent” trademark), with a height of 66 cm and a width of 68 cm.

The extrados of the bell is richly embellished. In the upper part, we may discern a decorative frieze consisting of small vegetal motifs. Underneath it, in the space bordered by two rows of parallel edges, there runs an inscription in capitals by the master bellfounder:

IN . HONOREM . DEI . FVDIT . ME .GEORGIVS . WEIRD . IN . EPPERIES .
ANNO . DOMINI . M . DC . LI

Underneath the inscribed band, there appears a flatly embossed decoration composed alternately of the exotic fruit motif, framed by rich vegetal bouquets, and heads of angels with wings consisting of plumage stylised according to typical mannerist patterns.

On the band that represents the middle of the bell’s extrados, there are outlined, in somewhat higher relief, the bust figures of the four evangelists (I=11.5 cm) accompanied by their consecrated symbols and by their names engraved in capital letters, at the bottom: S. MARCVS: EVN . ; S MATVS: EVN ; S . LVCAS: EVN ; S . IOANES: EVN. The figure of the child Jesus is placed between Ev. Mark and Ev. Luke. On the opposite side, also in the central space of the exterior of the bell, there is placed the donor’s coat of arms, inscribed in a garland of laurel leaves of ellipsoidal shape. Underneath this crown, one can read the commemorative inscription, in capital letters, on four rows:

AZ : ISTEN : TISTESZEGIRE:
ÖNTETE : EZ HARANGGOT :
DERECZKE : WARASANAK : SARKADI :
MIKLÓS : FÖ : KAPITAN : ANNO : 1651

(In honour of God / has cast this bell / Sarkadi Miklós, captain of Dereczke fortress. The year 1651).

The four evangelists are clothed in simple tunics with a straight cut around the neck and in the adorned with buttons on the chest (Ev. Mark, Fig. 2). Over the tunics, they are wearing loose robes with the conventional folds wrapped across the shoulder or the upper arm. The right hand, holding the writing quill, sometimes points, with didactic moralising gesture, towards the open book in the left hand. The symbols that particularise the characters are placed on the right: the angel with one arm around the shoulder of Matthew and with the other indicating a passage from the Gospel, the lion (Mark), with a profile closer in shape to that of a sheep than to the famous feline, the ox (Luca), with the contours of the head quite correctly shaped, and the eagle (John), with partially outstretched wings, facing left.

András, *Szabályos alaprajzú, olasz-bástyás, várkastélyok Erdélyben*, in *Művelődéstörténeti Tanulmányok*, București, 1980, p. 90; Balogh, Jolán, *Varadinum, Várad vára*, II, Budapest, 1982; p. 363; Dr. Arch. Gheorghe Sebestyén, *O pagină din istoria arhitecturii României, Renașterea*, București, 1987, pp. 102-108, 178-179; Nicolae Sabău, *Sculptura barocă în România*, București, 1993, p. 80; V. Literat, *Un dar al lui Constantin Brâncoveanu la Făgăraș*, in *AIIN*, VII, 1936-1938, Cluj, 1939, p. 603; Kovács András, *Késő reneszánsz építészet Erdélyben, 1541-1720*, Budapest- Kolozsvár, 2003, pp. 149-150.

From a formal point of view, the characters highlight three of the biological stages of life: youth (John) (Fig. 3), maturity (Luke) and old age (Mark and Matthew) (Fig. 2, 4). With the exception of John, with a beardless figure, overshadowed only by his beautiful curly hair that goes down upon his shoulders, the other characters have their faces framed by larger or smaller beards, with the hair arranged in strands. The faces of the evangelists are only partially individualised (Ev. John and Ev. Luke), physiognomic differences being insignificant with Ev. Mark and Ev. Matthew.

The clay mould used by Master Georgius Wierd to cast the figures of the evangelists reveals several bivalent formal characteristics, in which specific models of the late Gothic period were adapted to Renaissance patterns of German extraction. Contemporary German engraving and sculpture offered inexhaustible informative material for the elaboration of notebooks with blueprints for the aforementioned moulds.⁵

The nude child Jesus was represented frontally, with the head disproportionately large compared with the body (Fig. 5). The long face and the curly hair are framed by a halo delineated by rays. In his left hand, he holds the globe, devoid here of the cross-bearing insignia, a detail that may be explained if we consider that the work was intended for a church belonging to the Reformed denomination. Jesus is sitting on a small pedestal covered with flowers and phytomorphic stalks, among which is discernible the more archaic motif of the clubs.

The donor's coat of arms is inscribed in an ellipsoidal wreath of laurel leaves, marked by crossed ribbons at the top and at the bottom and by quadrilobed motifs on the sides (Fig. 6). The heraldic shield composed of symmetrically juxtaposed curves and counter-curves is surmounted by a griffin leaping left, sword between the paws. The shield is charged with a helmet and a noble crown and the griffin with the sword is resumed as the coat of arms. The shield is surrounded by lambrequins consisting of fleshy stalks with curved paths. Under the wreath with the crest, there appears the commemorative inscription mentioned above.

In the bell mould there were applied impressions with the obverse of Austrian coins with circular legend and the two-headed eagle. Since this is the obverse, their value is not well defined. In this case, the coins have a purely decorative significance, as they surround the figure of the child Jesus on three sides.

Therefore, the bell that is housed now by the tower of the Reformed church in Făgăraş was executed, according to the commemorative inscription, in 1651, in the smithy of Master Georgius Wierd of Epperjes (Eperjes, Prešov, Slovakia). In the 18th century, Prešov was located in an area of Austrian domination. Compared to the areas under Turkish domination, crafts could further develop unhindered in this region. Moreover, this was a period when there occurred a real infusion of specialised labour due to the surplus provided by the German craft centres. This reference is valid for other specialisations as well. The northern regions of Italy ensured a continuous migration of master builders, masons, sculptors, stucco-layers and painters, who spread, during this century, across a wide area in Austria and Bohemia, via Poland

⁵ Michael Baxandall, *Die Kunst der Bildschnitzer. Tilman Riemenschneider, Veit Stoß und ihre Zeitgenossen*, München, 1984, pp. 85, 184; Pl. 22, 48.

and Transylvania, and reaching Russia and Turkey.⁶ The German countries offered these regions such skilled workers in metal, be it ordinary or noble. The case of the Neidel family smithy confirms the above statement. Active in Prešov, Paul Neidel continued his activity in Brasov after 1600. His smithy honoured orders for bells destined for the churches of Szekler villages. His native place is mentioned only once in the autographed inscription on the bell of a small chapel from Misentea (Harghita County): MAGISTER PAVLVVS NEIDEL EPPERIENCIS ME FVSIT 1608.

The other bells produced in his foundry record, besides the commemorative inscription, only the name of the bellfounder and the year of execution (Armășeni, Harghita County, 1604 and Lăzarea, Harghita County, 1617). The craftsmen who came here adapted quite soon to the Transylvanian urban environment and to the internal life of the guilds here. The communion of language – the majority were of German origin – facilitated their much more rapid integration. The craftsmen who immigrated to Transylvania contributed, in an innovative and effective way, to perpetuating the local craft tradition. In this case, the casting of bells was a specialised craft recorded in documents since the end of the 13th century, in full Romanesque era. Victor Roth mentioned a bell from the Evangelical church in Cloașterf (Mureș County) dating back to the year 1190, but returned in more recent times. A local craftsmen must have been that “Meistr Vilricy” who engraved his name on the bell of the Roman Catholic church in Mesentea. In the 17th century, in addition to the bellfoundries from Brasov and Sibiu (see the bell of the Reformed church from Boarta made by A. Vtern in 1648), there also operated one in Alba Iulia, perhaps right next to the cannon foundry here.⁷ The bell of the Reformed church from Cristurul Secuiesc confirms this: MIT GOTTES HILFE GOS MICH ANTONI VTEM IN WEISSENBURG. A.D. 1644: This was also the context in which Georgius Wierd left Klagenfurt and settled in Prešov.⁸ It was in this town that his smithy operated over a period of 30 years, between 1628 and 1657. His foundry was commissioned to honour orders for church bells in Sáros County, Hungary). His retail market also included parts of the Upper Tisa.⁹ Sporadically, the products manufactured in his foundry could also be found in the territory under Turkish occupation at that time, especially in Szolnok County (Hungary), at Besenyszög, Csongrád, etc. The productivity of his foundry was very high. On the territory of Hungary alone there was recorded a total of 20 bells, of which 13 are engraved with his apostille in bronze: “...FVDIT ME GEORGIVS WIERD IN EPPERIES.”¹⁰ In present-day Slovakia, in the Spišska area, there have been identified eight other bells produced in the Wierd

⁶ Aldo Crivelli, *Artisti ticinesi dal Baltico al Mar Nero: Svezia – Polonia – Cecoslovacchia – Austria – Jugoslavia – Ungheria – Romania – Turchia*, 1969; Nicolae Sabău, *Alcuni maestri italiani nella Transilvania del Settecento*, in *Ars Transsilvaniae*, II, 1992, pp. 5-28.

⁷ Kovács András, “Farkas az én nevem...” *A gyulafehérvári fejedelmi fegyvertár és ágyúöntés kezdeteinek történetéhez*, “Dolgozatok az Erdélyi Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából” S.N. 2(12)/(2007), pp. 157-172.

⁸ Patay, Pál, *Régi harangok*, 1977, p. 15.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

smithy.¹¹ On the Romanian territory there are at present two bells manufactured in this foundry: the original copy from Făgăraș and the bell of the Reformed church from Dobra (Hunedoara County, now in the collection of the Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest).¹²

Since the end of the previous century, the pages of history journals have registered bells made by Georgius Wierd.¹³ From then until now, the literature of the subject has been enriched, opening up the possibility of compiling a genuine repertory, in the future, of the bells made in the foundry from Prešov.

We do not know the details of the circumstances whereby this bell, made in 1651 at the expense of the supreme captain of the fortress, Dereczke Sarkadi Miklós, came to be bestowed to the Reformed church in Făgăraș by the Transylvanian princess, Anna Bornemisza. It is known that this place of worship had been founded by herself and her husband, Prince Michael Apafi. The treasure of the church was enriched with splendid silver-made objects of worship¹⁴ in the late 17th and in the 18th centuries (Fig. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13).

Historical sources recorded the festive moment when the church was endowed with the new bell. The event was mentioned in the Journal of Réty Péter, who noted the following for the year 1665: "On 6 August, there was raised in the tower of Făgăraș the bell given to the church by our great Lady, a bell that was cast at Eperjes

¹¹ Juraj Spiritza, *Spišské zvony*, Bratislava, 1972, pp. 87-90, 136-138.

¹² The bell – at the base, the diameter measures 76.6 cm and the height, without the handles (crown), is 59 cm – was commissioned in 1640 by Sigismund Prépostváry, quartermaster of Emperor Ferdinand III. The work bearing the autograph of Master Wierd and featuring the busts of the four evangelists as decoration was requisitioned by the army during World War I, but was saved from melting by the Historical Monuments Commission (Patay Pál, *Régi harangok*, p. 52).

¹³ Thus were presented the bell of the Roman Catholic church from Regéczke (Hungary), with the inscription: GEORG WIERD IN EPERIES GOSSE MICH, ANNO MDCXXVII. AGITE POENITENTIAM; the bell of the Greek-Catholic church in Mágyóroska (Hungary), decorated with six heads of angels and vegetal ornaments in Renaissance style (DVRCH FEYUR FLOSSE ICH GEORG WIERD IN EPPERIEIS GOSS MICH MDCXXXV) and the bell dedicated to the Holy Trinity Roman Catholic church in Göncz (Hungary), embellished with the figures of the four evangelists (see Mihálik József, *Felsőmagyarországi régi harangok*, in *AE*, XVII, 1897, pp. 346-347).

¹⁴ Among them, mention should be made of the gilded silver wine cup – CS logo – decorated with medallions comprising figures of angels bearing the instruments of Jesus's passions (17th century); the gilded silver wine cup with mannerist vegetal and geometric decorations, with figures of soldiers dressed in picturesque costumes of the 18th century; the gilded silver wine cup decorated with heads of cherubs and medallions containing animal figures (a stork with a snake in its beak, a galloping horse, a stag with an arrow piercing its rump (17th century); gilded silver goblet from the late Gothic period, remade, in 1640 bestowed to the church in Făgăraș by Susana Lórantfy, wife of George Rákóczi I, a piece decorated with the figures of the evangelists inscribed in medallions and with cherubs wearing lacy ruffs around the neck. On the plinth appear the instruments of Jesus's passions: a gilded silver goblet bestowed, according to the inscription, in 1694, by Matthew from Săsciori and his wife Maria Boer (MATHEVS T: SZESCSORI cum UXORE MARIA BOER curarium Fievi in Usum Ecclae Fogoraszensis Ao 1694, 15 Ap.); two gilded silver patens with commemorative inscriptions, the first from 1624 (IN SACRUM COENAE DOMINI USUM. MATHIAS SZARASZI DE THOLNA FIERI FECIT ANNO 1624), the second bestowed by the goldsmith Peter, marked with the logo PS (DONO DABAT PETRVS AVRIFA=ECCLESIE FAGARAS: SVB TEMPORE PAS/TORIS FRAN+ CISCI PETTRI/ANNO + 1638. DIE 14 MAR).

by Sarkadi Miklós, Captain of Derecske fortress, at his own expense for the church there, in the year 1651.”¹⁵

The bell of the Reformed church in Făgăraș, with the evangelists' figures, reveals formal and stylistic analogies with the bells of the churches from *Dobra* (Romania, 1640) and *Göncz* (Hungary, 1641). The bell in Făgăraș is in a good state of preservation and fulfils the purpose for which it was created even today.¹⁶

The second bell we shall present was cast in the late 18th century and was located in the massive belfry erected above the narthex of the church of St. Nicholas in Făgăraș.¹⁷

The height of the bell cup is 60 cm. Together with its six mounting crowns, the bell has a height of 76 cm. At the base, the diameter measures 76 cm. The bell is hanging from a mounting and balancing yoke made of wooden beams, overlapped and bound together by metal straps (Fig. 14, 15, 16). The lateral sides of the yoke are cut after a design consisting of a circle segment, continued with a rectangular lower edge and an edge of the same shape, but larger. At the base, the width of the yoke measures 78 cm and the total height is 53 cm.

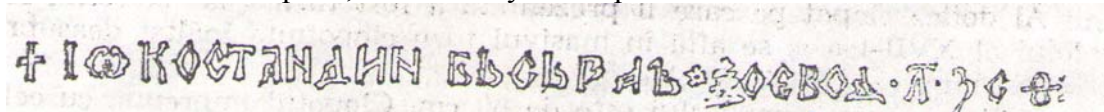
¹⁵ Rétyi Péter *naplója*, ed. Maria Ursuțiu, București, 1983, pp. 54-55.

¹⁶ In each of the towers of the churches from Făgăraș, there may still be examined a series of bells cast in the 18th and 19th centuries: a great bell with the inscription: ME FUDIT IN HONOREM DEI AD USUM ECCLESIAE EVANGHELICAE FOGARAS ANNO 1804 DIE 13 NOVEMBRI TEMPORE EXIST. PASTORE JOHANN MÜLLER, CURATORES JOHANN REINER. ET PETRUS TELLMANN. JOHANNES BAUMGARTNER SCHESBURGENSIS — CAMPA FUSOR (the work is preserved in the Evangelical church); three bells with commemorative inscriptions, in the patrimony of the Orthodox church from Ion Codru-Drăgușanu Street; a big bell “WITH THE HELP OF GOD AND AT THE EXPENSE OF MASTER GHEORGHE CORODI THIS BELL WAS MADE ON 23 APRIL 1791,” a middle-sized bell, “THIS BELL WAS MADE BY SQ. PANĂ NEGREȘ IN THE YEAR 1791 AND WITH THE HELP OF THE PEOPLE IT WAS CAST IN JUNE 1852”; a small bell, “THIS BELL DEDICATED TO THE HOLY TRIPTYCH OF GREEK NON-UNIATE LAW IN FĂGĂRAȘ WAS ACQUIRED THROUGH THE PEOPLE’S AID IN 1840.” In the patrimony of the (Franciscan) Roman Catholic church, there is preserved a small bell for Mass, decorated with figurative reliefs representing the Immaculate Conception; Ev. Luke and Ev. John are wearing long robes, then comes an angel carrying a laurel wreath among floral stalks and the inscription “AMDMF + SOLI DEO OR ET GLORIA + M. D. CLXXIV.”

¹⁷ The Church of St. Nicholas in Făgăraș uses a planimetric model traditionally encountered in Wallachia, the type of church from Strehaia Monastery (1640). This layout that was first adopted in Transylvania at Făgăraș had great success, being adopted in the construction of numerous Orthodox churches from the Land of Olt. Beyond the architectural significance of the building, reading the beautiful inscription preserved in the porch reveals another meaning, namely the overtly Orthodox character of this place – in a town that envisaged itself, in the 18th century, as a stronghold of Calvinism – built by the Voivode of Wallachia, in the tenth year of his reign, as if the church had been in his own country: “this holy and divine church of the East, I Costandinú B(râncovean) Basarabú Voievod, Lord and Protector of entire Wallachia. To the glory of the most blessed and unencompassable three hypostases and one being, the Holy Trinity, and to the honour of the miracle maker Nicolae, Bishop of Miralechia, whose patron saint he is, from the foundations up, at his entire expense, he raised and built it in year 1698 since the redemption of the world, in the tenth year of his reign. And they began in the month of June, on the 17th day, and ended in the month of September, on the 30th day, in the year – and Neagoe Pitar Rătescu was the steward 7206=1697.”

Weighing 90 kg, the bell presents traces of serious deterioration and reparations made in a rather crude manner.

The work was embellished with two ornamental friezes. On the upper part, the six mounting crowns are decorated with protomes, more specifically with the bust figures of cherubim. The bell cap presents a richly embossed decoration in flat relief, composed of juxtaposed volutes marked by baguettes, vegetal motifs and bunches of grapes. Underneath this setting, between two parallel edges, there unfolds the commemorative inscription, written in Cyrillic capital letters:



In the middle area of the bell's extrados there is placed the Wallachian coat of arms, the raven – here it looks rather like a swan with outstretched wings – with the cross in its beak, framed by the sun and the moon. The coat of arms is circumscribed by two circular wreathes made of laurel leaves. Below, underneath the narrow edge that surrounds the bell, there appears the second decorative frieze, in which the ornamental motifs from the upper half are repeated, but at a larger scale.

The commemorative inscription reveals the name of the donor, the voivode of Wallachia, Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688-1714), who is also the founder of the church of St. Nicholas, traditionally known as the “Brâncoveanu-style church.”¹⁸ The inscription also states the year of the casting and bestowal of the bell: 7209=1700, but not the bellfounder's name and the place where the bronze piece was cast.¹⁹

¹⁸ The construction of the Romanian church in Făgăraș by the Wallachian voivode had been approved by Prince Michael Apafi II, under a document issued on 10 October 1694. The approval was not only facilitated by the good relations between the two rulers, but it was also “encouraged” by Constantin Brâncoveanu's financial support to the restoration of the Reformed church in the city, to which were added his beneficent ties with General Comte Rabutin de Bussy, commander of the imperial troops in the principality, who sent the chief engineer (*supremum inginerium*) of the army, Italian Giovanni Visconti Morando, to the town of Făgăraș, “for determining the site and performing the necessary measurements” for the construction of this voivodal foundation (Lidia Gross, *Realități transilvane surprinse în memoriile generalului Rabutin de Bussy*, in *Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai. Series Historia*, XXXIV, 1989, Fasc., 2, pp. 72-80; Susana Andea, Avram Andea, *Biserica brâncovenească din Făgăraș*, in *Ars Transsilvaniae*, XIV-XV, 2004-2005, pp. 57-100; Marius Porumb, “Date noi privind biserica brâncovenească din Făgăraș,” in *Ars Transsilvaniae*, XIV-XV, 2004-2005 pp.163-166; Nicolae Sabău, *Giovanni Morando Visconti în Transilvania*, in *Maestri ticinesi in Transilvania tra Cinquecento e Settecento* (ed. Nicolae Sabău), Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2007, pp. 51-81).

¹⁹ Among the rare examples of bells made in Transylvania, with a bilingual inscription (Slavonic and Latin), there is one from the belfry of the Evangelical church of Roșia (Rothberg, Veresmart), a Romanesque basilica from the 13th century, which underwent vast transformations in the 15th, 16th, 18th and 19th centuries. According to the Slavonic text (Fig. 17), the bell represented a commissioned order (in translation: *The bell was made by Sq. Miroslav biv vel treasurer in the days of nlo Mihnea Voevod in the year 7099*) from the treasurer Miroslav, a much appreciated dignitary in the service of many Wallachian princes between the years 1568 and 1611 (Alexandru II Mircea, Petru Cercel, Mihnea Turcitul, Mihai Vodă and Radu Șerban). The Latin epigraph mentions the casting of the bell in 1601 by the master from Sibiu GV K (Nicolae Sabău, *Curiozități artistice în biserica evanghelică din Roșia (jud. Sibiu)*, in *Ars Transsilvaniae*, VI, 1996, pp. 66, 71-72).

Contemporary documents, the commemorative inscription on the pediment of the entrance door to the church of St. Nicholas, the autographed signature on an icon of the iconostasis (now vanished), the scene of “Jesus before Pilate” in the altar and the records in the Diptych preserved in the parish archive – all these attest to the important donations made to this institution. The entire building is owed to the voivodal generosity, as is the iconostasis with its icons, made by the painter Preda from Câmpulung in 1698-1699, or the frescoes in the altar and the nave signed by Preda and Teodosie, the sons of the painter Preda from Câmpulung, between 1719-1720, the objects of liturgical worship (the gilded silver chalice, the silver candle holder),²⁰ the precious vestments, a number of religious books still found in the patrimony of the church (*Tălmăcirea Evangheliei*, The Interpretation of the Gospel, Buzău, 1698, *Mineie*, Menaion for the months of May and September, Buzău, 1698, *Penticostar*, Pentecostarion, 1698), but also the bell presented above, bearing the state emblem of Wallachia. The latter was not only proof of the material support provided by this great Maecena of the European East, but also a symbol and a guarantee of support to Transylvanian Orthodoxy, at a watershed in history.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. Georgius Wierd, Bell decorated with the reliefs of the four evangelists, the coat of arms of the donor and the name of the bellfounder, 1651. Reformed church, Făgăraș.

Fig. 2. Georgius Wierd, Holy Ev. Mark (detail). Bell, 1651 Reformed church, Făgăraș. Drawing after mould, N. Sabău, C-ța Smarandache.

Fig. 3. Georgius Wierd, Holy Ev. John (detail). Bell, 1651. Reformed church, Făgăraș. Drawing after mould, N. Sabău, C-ța Smarandache.

Fig. 4. Georgius Wierd, Holy Ev. Matthew (detail). Bell, 1651. Reformed church, Făgăraș. Drawing after mould, N. Sabău, C-ța Smarandache.

Fig. 5. Georgius Wierd, the child Jesus (detail). Bell, 1651. Reformed church, Făgăraș. Drawing after mould, N. Sabău, C-ța Smarandache.

Fig. 6. Georgius Wierd, the Sarkadi M coat of arms (detail). Bell, 1651. Reformed church, Făgăraș. Drawing after mould, N. Sabău, C-ța Smarandache.

Fig. 7. Army Commander. Goblet, 17th century (detail). Reformed church, Făgăraș.

Fig. 8. Soldier. Goblet, 17th century (detail). Reformed church, Făgăraș.

Fig. 9. Spearman. Goblet, 17th century (detail). Reformed church, Făgăraș.

Fig. 10. Holy Ev. Matthew. Chalice, 18th century (detail). Reformed church, Făgăraș.

²⁰ *Revista istorică*, VIII, no. 7-9, July-September 1922, “Documente ardelene” (pp. 43-146), published the “Memorial of the Holy church in Făgăraș, dedicated to Saint Nicholas, in which are written those who gave and those who will give donations to the holy church, so they will be remembered in perpetuity, until this holy church stands”; gifts made by Wallachian voivodes (*Ioanu Mihnea Voevodu*, *Ioanu Constandinu Voevodu*, *Ioanu Serbanu Voevodu*, with their sons and daughters, bishops of Wallachia (*Varlamu*, *Theodosie*, *Anthimu*, *Damaschinu*), boyars and priests.

Fig. 11. Holy Ev. Mark. Chalice, 18th century (detail). Reformed church, Făgăraș.

Fig. 12. Holy Ev. Luke. Chalice, 18th century (detail). Reformed church, Făgăraș.

Fig. 13. Holy Ev. John. Chalice, 18th century (detail). Reformed church, Făgăraș.

Fig. 14. Wallachia's coat of arms. Bell, 1700 (detail). Church of St. Nicholas (Brâncovan), Făgăraș.

Fig. 15. Fragment of inscription and Wallachian coat of arms. Bell, 1700 (detail). Drawing N. Sabău.

Fig. 16. Brâncovan bell (1700). Church of St. Nicholas, Făgăraș.

Fig. 17. Bilingual inscription of the donation (year 7099) and the craftsman. Bell, 1601 (detail). Evangelical Church, Roșia (Sibiu).



Fig.1



Fig.2

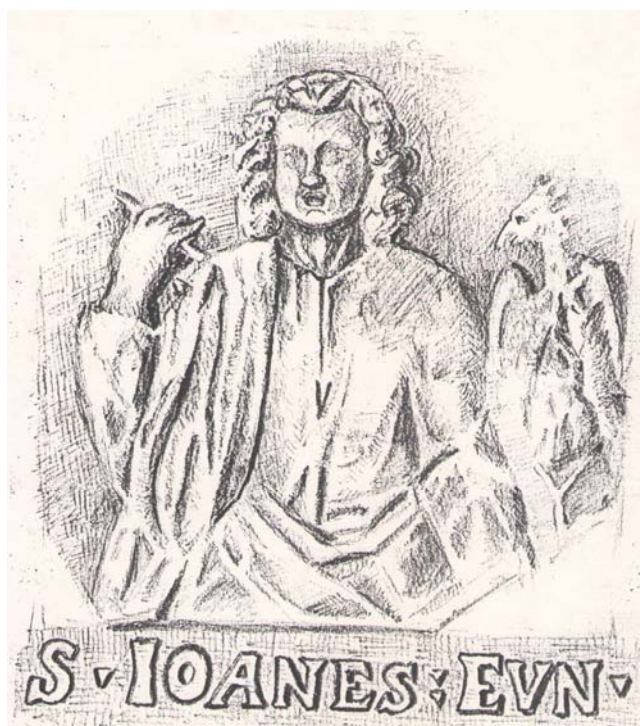


Fig.3

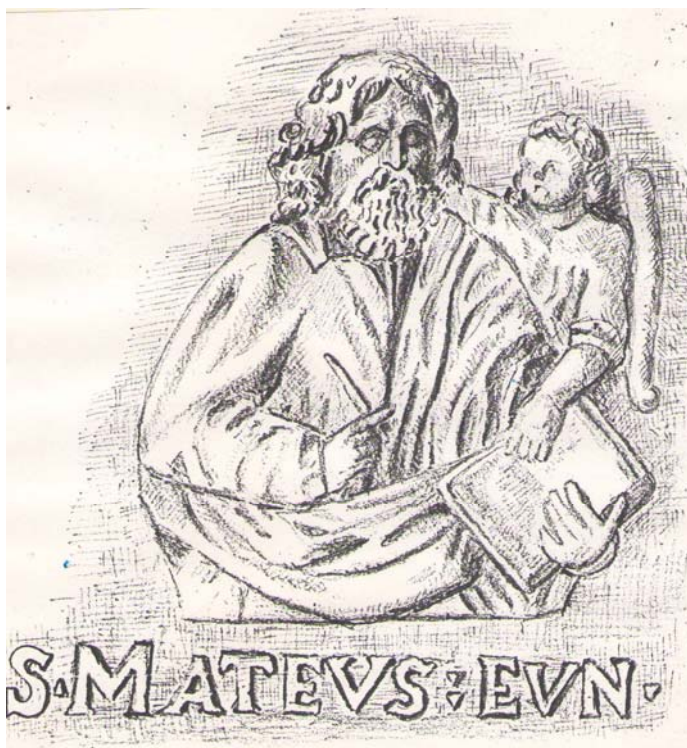


Fig.4



Fig.5



Fig.6



Fig.7



Fig.8



Fig.9



Fig.10-11



Fig.12-13



Fig.14

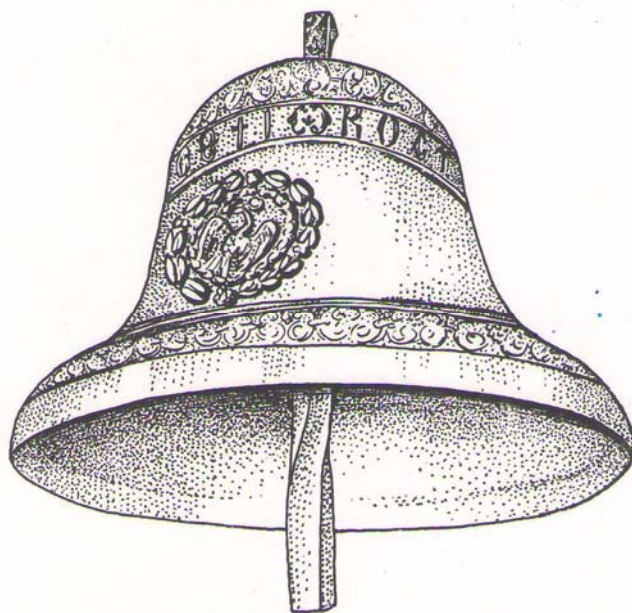


Fig.15

**Fig.16**

HOC · OPVS · FECIT
· G W · CIBINIENSIS ·
ANNO · DOMINI
· 1 · 6 · 0 · 1 ·

† ЦИВИЛИЗОВАНО
ЖУПОВИ МНОГО
· БЪЛГАРСКИ ·
ІВАНОВИ
БЪЛГАРСКИ

Fig.17

STUDIES

THE REFORMED CHURCH FROM SFĂRAȘ (SĂLAJ COUNTY)

Abstract: This study presents the Reformed Church from Sfăraș, considered to be a typical example of the rural churches from the Călata area in terms of its painted furniture, which represents the creation of the Umlings, a family of painter-carpenters from Cluj.

Keywords: Reformed church, Sfăraș, Călata, painted furniture, coffered ceiling, the Umling family, medieval bell.

Historical data

Sfăraș village lies in a relatively isolated area of Călata, on the valley of the Almaș River. In administrative terms, the village belonged to the county of Bihor in the Early Middle Ages; later on, it was included in the county of Cluj, but in ecclesiastical terms, it always belonged to the Diocese of Oradea.

The first documentary attestation of the village dates from 1272, when it was mentioned in the sources under the name of *Fornos*. In the following centuries, it was referred to as *Farnos* (1391), *Farnas* (1441) and *Fárnas* (1666). Between 1260 and 1270, the village was donated by King Stephen V to Comes Mikola, the letter patent being registered by the Chapter of Oradea. At the end of the century, between 1291 and 1294, the sources mentioned the amount of tax paid to the Diocese of Oradea by the villagers from Sfăraș, which proves the existence of a church there during this period. The first parish priests from Sfăraș, Stephanus and Egidius, were first mentioned in the documents in the register of papal tithes for the year 1332.²

The history of the village in the Middle Ages was closely linked with the history of the family Farnasi Veres. The family was the descendant of the old Mikola family, which engendered, over the centuries, the families Mikola, Kabos, Kemény, Gyerőffy and Radó, while another branch generated the families Vitéz, Bóci, Tompa, Tamásfalvi, Valkai and Farnasi Veres. In around the year 1262, when the name of the Mikola family was first mentioned in the written sources, the Veres and Tamásfalvi families owned several estates around Huedin, at Sfăraș and Szilitelek, a village in the vicinity of Stana, which was depopulated in as early as the Middle Ages.

¹ Museum curator, PhD, the National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj-Napoca, email: mihalmelinda@yahoo.com.

² Erdélyi okmánytár II. (1301–1339), Szerk. Jakó Zsigmond, Budapest, Magyar Országos Levéltár, 2004; Győrfy, György, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történelmi földrajza*, vol. I. Budapest, 1963, p. 616. (hereinafter: Győrfy 1963); Csánki, Dezső, *Magyarország történelmi földrajza a Hunyadiak korában*, Budapest, 1913, pp. 264, 266, 349 (hereinafter: Csánki 1913); Bunyitay, Vincze, *A váradi püspökség története*, III. Oradea 1884, pp. 407–408, table XXIII.

Undoubtedly, the most prominent family member was Dénes Veres, who, after regaining his confiscated estates in the autumn of 1442, participated in the anti-Ottoman battles of John Hunyadi. In the second half of his life, Dénes Veres took full advantage of his wealth. In his will of 1453, he entrusted his son to continue paying for the construction of the church in Sfăraş. According to tradition, the edifice was erected on the ruins of an older church.³

Benedek Farnosi Veres continued his father's tendencies of increasing and unifying the small family estates, in order to form a vaster domain in the Plain area of Turda County, as well as along the valleys of the Arieş and the Mureş Rivers, by exchanging some smaller properties. Thus, in 1445 he gave up the estate in Sfăraş in exchange for the domain previously owned by the Bikali family in Tonciu.

After participating in the uprising against King Matthias of 2 November 1467, Benedek Veres and his brother, János, were among the first to be deprived of all their estates. The King donated Sfăraş, along with the other properties in the area, to István and Demeter Nagylaki Jaksics. After returning from his exile in Poland, Voivode Péter Szentgyörgyi granted, in 1505, the old properties from Călata to János Veres, which by the year 1518 were already the property of his son, Márton. The village was confiscated again in 1575, because of János Veres's participation in the conspiracy led by Gáspár Bekes. In the 16th century, the Veres family disappeared without heirs, and the village of Sfăraş became the property of the families Valkai, Kemény, Gyerőffy, Vitéz, Bánffy and Zichy; then, in the 18th century, it came to be owned by the Keceli family.⁴

During the Kuruc uprising, according to the inscription on the ceiling of the church, the building was devastated, being rebuilt only around the year 1750. Much of the church furniture was built during the same period. Probably also during the 18th century, the Gothic choir vault collapsed and in its place there was installed a new coffered ceiling. In 1748, there was built a wooden fence instead of the demolished stone wall. The gate of the new wooden fence, decorated with the inscription "*1748. Deus providebit,*" was used during the 19th century as an entrance into the church from the priest's house. During the Kuruc uprising, all the treasures of the church were looted. In a register of the church from the year 1721, it was noted that the church bell served the church in Bicălatu for a short time, being returned, after a while, to the belfry of Sfăraş.⁵

In 1859, the local parish priest conducted excavations north of the church choir to determine the site of the former sacristy. From his notes we learn that a crypt was found, containing a large number of bones, skulls, architectural fragments and a baptismal font. Most of these elements have, however, vanished altogether.⁶

³ Entz Géza, *Erdély építészete a 14–16. században*, Cluj, 1996, pp. 133, 144, 215, 284–285, 529. (hereinafter: Entz 1996).

⁴ Győrfy 1963, p. 616; Csánki 1913, pp. 264, 266, 349; Entz 1996, pp. 133, 144, 215, 284–285, 529; Bunyitay 1884, 407–408, table XXIII.

⁵ Ferencz Miklós, *A farnasi református egyház története*, Cluj, 1961 (manuscript) (hereinafter: Ferencz 1961); Jankó, János, *Kalotaszeg magyar népe*, Budapest, 1892, pp. 60–61; *Névkönyv az erdélyi református anyaszentegyház számára*, Cluj, 1872, XV. pp. 6–8.

⁶ Ferencz 1961, p. 15.

In 1936, at the request of the community and the village teacher, the architect Károly Kos designed a project for building a tower on the site of the portico, but the project was not carried out, probably due to the sudden death of the teacher.⁷

In 1962, László Debreczeni drew up a project for renovating the church, listing the most important works. Debreczeni's goal was to eliminate the earth around the foundations, to insulate the walls, to restore the top of the belfry and remove of the plaster layer destroyed by water infiltrations, because, as Debreczeni states, a beautiful masonry, made of sculpted blocks of stone, can be spotted under the plaster. Of the aforementioned, only the most urgent works were probably completed.

Description of the monument

The Reformed church in Sfăraş is located in the southern part of the village. Southwest of the edifice, there was erected a belfry with a wooden structure, typical of the 18th century, sitting on a pedestal made of several rows of fashioned stone (Fig.1). In the belfry, there is a bell from the year 1475, decorated with an inscription in tiny Gothic print:

*Ad honorem sp(iritu)s sanctus a(nno) d(omini) mccccxxv.*⁸

The church consists of a rectangular nave, a choir with a polygonal closure and a wooden portico, appended to the southern façade at a later moment. The nave and the choir are reinforced at the corners with diagonally positioned buttresses, with stairs covered with slabs of limestone (Fig.2).⁹

The western façade, crowned by a sharp triangular gable, is pierced by a single embrasure, located in the central axis. The opening is a rectangular entrance gate, provided with a frame made of three robust slabs, with bevelled corners. The gate sash is typical of the 18th century, handmade, with traces of painting, representing a flower stalk, surrounded by an architectural framework.

The buttress from the southeast corner of the nave is aligned with the triumphal arch, while the buttress from the northeast corner of the nave is slightly unbalanced westwards from the line of the arch.

The southern façade of the church is articulated by two small windows, one of which is rectangular, while the other has a semi-circular closing. The choir is articulated by two windows with semi-circular closing, one on the east side and the other on the south side (Fig.3).

The southern entrance to the church can be accessed through a wooden portico. The portal with a rectangular closure, covered in multiple whitewashing layers, is decorated with an empty shield and a cyma moulding, typical of the Renaissance, turned inward. The portal architrave is thinner than the load bearing walls, being decorated with a demi-baguette moulding. Perhaps the fragment of the frame that lies on the floor of the nave today and has a similar moulding to that of the load bearing walls of the southern portal comes from the architrave of this portal, having probably

⁷ Ferencz 1961, p. 16.

⁸ Benkő Elek, *Erdély középkori harangjai és bronz keresztelõmedencéi*, Budapest, 2002, p. 260.

⁹ Virgil Vătăşianu, *Istoria artei feudale în ţările române*, Bucharest, 1957, pp. 539, 740.

been changed because of its deterioration. The fragment is decorated with an inscription in Latin, incised with Renaissance capital letters: "[...]E VS(?) MARIA." (Fig.4) Above the portal, the second moulding fragment of the original architrave is built into the ridge of the portico, in a place that is inaccessible today.

The gate sash is decorated with two fields with floral motifs, representative for the style of the Cluj-based carpenters and painters, the brothers Umling, János and Lőrinc. Underneath the paint layer there emerge a few motifs from an older decoration, representing a bouquet of flowers that rises from a pitcher, typical of the style of the old man Lőrinc Umling, the father of the aforementioned brothers. On the outer side of the sash, there is a painted inscription:

Eszt az Ajtott Renovaltatta Isten Di tsőségére Öreg Kudor Márton: 1790 / 3 dik (...) Juli. (This door was renovated for the glory of God by Márton Kudor Sr. on 3 July 1790).

Both the nave and the choir are covered with a painted coffered ceiling (Fig.5). Fragments of corbels from the choir and the fragment of a simple, circular keystone, retaining the alignments of the ribs, attest the fact that, initially, the choir was covered with a ribbed vault, resting on corbels (Fig.6). The nave does not preserve traces that would indicate another horizontal structure than the flat ceiling. The ceiling consists of 56+12 panels and was made (Fig.7,8,9), according to the inscription, by the painter-carpenter Lőrinc Umlig Sr. in the year 1750 .

EZEK(ne)K IDEJEKBEN ÉPÜLT EZ / TEMPLUM, ASZTALOS LŐRINCZ / ÁLTAL 1750 DIEBUS / JULII AUGUSTY & SEPTEMBR(II). (This church was built, in their time, by Lőrincz Asztalos, on the days of the months of July, August and September, 1750).

The other inscribed panel contains a quote from the Bible, combined with information referring to the construction of the ceiling:

EN MENNYEI URNAK LAKO SZENT HAJLEKA / REGEN VARTAM HOG(y) MAR ÉN ROLAM VALAHA / ENGEMET RUTITO KOROM SZENYE MOCSKA / (...) / AZ IRGALMAS ISTEN UJRA MEGTEKINTÉ / HOMÁJBÓL NAPOMAT RAJTAM FELDERITÉ / MOST EZERHETSZAZBAN MEG ÖTVENET ÁGY MELLÉ / SEPTEM(b)ERI HÓNAK SZINTE VÉGE FELÉ (...) / (...) / EGÉSZ ECCLÉSIA MELLETTEM FÁRADA / N(agy)T(iszteletű). SZAKÁCS PÁL URAM BÓV KÖLTSÉGET ADA / MEJNEK ISMENYÉGBŐL(?) BIZONYOS JUTALMA / NEM HAMIS AZ ISTEN MUNKÁS SZERELEMRŐL / HOGY ELFELEJTKEZZÉK ES IGIRETIRŐL / GONDJA LESZ EN ERETE IDVESSÉGTEKRŐL / SIDOKHOZ IRT LEVEL BIZONIT EZEKRŐL. / HE. 6. C. 6. V. 10. (The holy place of the Lord in heaven, long have I waited for my face, soiled and stained by age (...), I wait for the gaze of the merciful Lord, to illumine my darkened days, now, in the year one thousand seven hundred and another fifty, close to the end of September, the entire parish laboured with me, with the support material of the distinguished priest Pál Szakács from which certain rewards (...), for the Lord is not unrighteous to forget your work and the love that you have shown toward His Name, you, who have ministered to the saints, and do minister, as the letter to the Hebrews proves this, Hebrews 6, 10).

The manner of design and drawing, with rigid lines and compositions, with very minute, precise details, are characteristic of the early works of the painter-carpenter. As regards the colours used, the dominant ones are red, black, yellow and green. The frames of the panels are decorated with the characteristic motif of the craftsman's works, a decoration in the shape of fish scales. The ceiling panels are decorated with various ornaments, with typical motifs of the Transylvanian Late Renaissance art, formulated in a Baroque manner, as in the following examples: rosettes, laurel wreaths, acanthus flowers, pomegranates and flower bouquets placed in the pitchers. Besides vegetal representations, we can find a few zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figurations, of a lower quality, like the pelican that feeds its chicks with its own blood, the snake with the apple from the tree of life, symbolising the sin of Eve, different types of birds, a crane, the sun and the moon, and the two-headed eagle, symbolising Christ. One of the craftsman's characteristic representations is the image of black birds, picking grapes. This image, of medieval origin, represents the blood of Christ, signifying the desire for salvation. Like in the case of the other coffered ceilings from the Călata region, made by the Umling family, the origin of the zoomorphic representations on the ceiling certainly comes from the Protestant iconography. The importance of the representations from Călata, in contradiction with the ones in Sălaj, Bihor or the Transylvanian Plains, typical of the numerous figurative representations, consists in the adoption and development of Renaissance ornamentation.¹⁰

The parapet of the western stalls, composed of six panels, also dates from 1750, having been built by the same painter-carpenter, Lőrinc Umling Sr (Fig.10). The panels from the edges are decorated with stylised spiral compositions. The second and the fifth panels contain one acanthus flower each, framed by a circle. On the central panels there appears the image of a bouquet of tulips and peonies, surrounded by an architectural framework. The moulded cornice of the parapet is accentuated with a row of denticules. The frieze of the parapet contains the painted inscription of two biblical quotations and the name of the carpenter Asztalos Lőrinc:

PRÉDIK. C. 12. V: 3. EMLÉKEZZÉL MEG A TE TEREMTÖDRÖL A TE IFJUSÁGODNAK IDEJIBEN MG(?) EL JÖNEK AZ ESZTENDŐK MELJEKRŐL AZT MONDJAD NEM SZERETEM EZEKET. 1 JAN C. ZV 14, 15, 17 IRTAM NÉKTEK IFFIJAK NE SZERESSÉTEK E VILÁGOTT. EL MULIK E VILÁG AKKI PENIG AZ ISTEN AKARATJÁT CSELEKSZI ÖRÖKÉ MEG MARAD. ASZTALOS LŐRINCZ.

The parapet of the eastern stalls was probably made in 1790, when most of the furniture was repainted by the sons of Umling Lőrinc (Fig.11). The panels at the edges are each ornamented with a bouquet of flowers arranged in a vase, the composition being framed by a border decorated with the "fish scales" motif. The second and the fourth panels contain the inscription dating the repainting of the tribune: *Anno 1790. Die 24 Junii.* (In the year 1790, 24 June). Their frame is

¹⁰ Kiss Margit – Lángi József – Mihály Ferenc: "Virágózódott ...Anno". Az Umlingok Kalotaszegen. Budapest, 2007. pp. 72-74; Tombor Ilona, Magyarországi festett famennyezetek és rokonemlékek a XV–XIX. századból, Budapest, 1968, p. 125.

decorated with carnations and other flowers, painted on a dark green background. At the centre of the panels there appears the image of flower bouquets, placed in pitchers, framed by an architectural framework. Above the fields, there are the following inscriptions, combined with Biblical quotations:

A MÉL(tósá)GOS B(áró) KOR(da) SUSANNA ASZONY Ő N(a)G(yság)A: KEGYES/ SIGET BIZONYITYA ISTEN HÁZÁNAK MEG ÉPÜLÉSE. / BOLDOGOK AZ IRGALMASOK. MAT. C. 5. V. 7. (The building of the Lord's house is proof of the benevolence of Baroness Susanna Korda, Blessed are the merciful, Matthew 5, 7), and:

ITT JELENT (...)ES NEMZETE ZOLTÁN GÁBOR / URAMN(a)K 10 VONAS FORINTIG VALO ADAKOZÁSA. JO ELOME/ NETELT AD A KEGYELEM. PÉLD. C. 13. V. 13. (Here are the 10 *dica* of forints, bestowed by Mr. Gábor Zoltán, he who fears the commandment will be rewarded, Proverbs 13, 13).

After the organ was installed in 1849, the central panels were removed, their place being taken by the organ cabinet.

One of the most valuable pieces of furniture in the church is the polygonal pulpit, made of wood and painted. Although it is not fitted with any inscription that might disclose its craftsman and the period when it was built, the manner of its composition and the details of the motifs suggest Umling the elder. The western panel of the pulpit's parapet is decorated with a bouquet that consists of Western-style branches of globe-flowers and tulips, surrounded by an architectural frame. The other panels are divided into two horizontal registers decorated with the representation of a stylised pomegranate, from which emerge vines with arched lines, decorated with tulips, globe-flowers and peonies. Under the moulded cornice of the parapet, there is another Biblical quotation from the book of Jeremiah: *JEREM. C. VI. V. 27. / ŐR ALLO TORONYBAN HELYH / EZ TÉTELEK ÉN TÉGED A/ Z ÉN NÉPEM KÖZTT.* On the parapet of the pulpit stairs, there appears the painted image of an angel with a horn. In the left hand, the angel holds an open book, containing the following inscription: *Az Urnak Beszédit halgas/ sátok* (Listen to the Lord's words), and above this image: *Arch/ angyal* (Archangel) (Fig.12). Under the top layer of painting, there emerge the contours of an older painting, probably made by Lőrinc Umling Sr.

The canopy of the pulpit is also octagonal, decorated with the statue of the pelican feeding its chicks, placed upon a row of radially positioned volutes. The spaces between the volutes are filled with small gables decorated with tulips and peonies. On the outer side of the canopy, there is a Biblical quotation from the Psalms, complete with the year when the canopy was built, 1750: *SOL. 34. V. 12. JÓJETER IDE FIAI/ M ÉS HALGASSATOK ENGEM/ ET, AZ URNAK FÉLELM / ÉRE MEGTANITALAK TITEKET. ANNO / 1750.*

The Lord's table, the money box and the psalms board were also made by Lőrinc Umling Sr. in 1750. All these three items are provided with inscriptions commemorating their renovation by the Umling brothers. The Lord's table is the only piece that has kept its original décor with tulips (Fig.13). The inscription on the psalms board evokes its renovation: *Ditséret / Isten Ditsőségére / Renováltatta Eszt a / Pulpitust Andor(?) István Anno 1790* (This board was renovated by István Andor (?) in the year 1790, as a sign of praise, for the glory of God).

The parapets of the pews were decorated by the junior painter-carpenters with a motif taken from their father, the bouquet of flowers, placed in a pitcher, which is rendered in a simplified manner. The side of the pews preserves only pictorial fragments of zoomorphic and vegetal representations, such as the squirrel, the stork, daffodils and other simple flowers, with five petals (Fig.14,15).

The parapets of the choir pews are provided with an inscription that reveals the fact that they were originally intended for the stalls, probably the eastern stalls, the year of their construction and the names of persons who ordered them:

Az Ur Isten Ditsőségére Tsináltatta Az Farnasi Ref(ormáta) / Ecc(lézsia) a maga Költségével a Mester, és a Gyer / mekei Számára a Kart: a Templomba Valo Székeket Együtt. Tiszteletes Pr. Máté István uram Idejében. Ku / rátor Pataki Ferentz. égyházfi Kudor Ferentz / SzorgalmatoSságok által: An(n)o 1790: Die 24^{ta} Juni. (These stalls were made for the glory of God, at the expense of the parish of Sfăraș, for the Teacher and his children, together with the pews, during the period of the preacher István Máté, thanks to the diligence of the curator Ferentz Pataki and of the sacristan Ferentz Kudor, on 24 June 1790).

János Veres's funeral slab in Sfăraș, built in 1510, is supported by the south side of the triumphal arch (Fig.16).¹¹ The funeral monument presents an interesting example of the interference of Gothic and Renaissance motifs. The widened field of the slab, framed by an engraved border, is divided into three horizontal registers. The upper register features Gothic mouldings, the central register presents an empty shield and the lower register has a rosette, typical of the Renaissance style. The empty shield was probably originally decorated with the painted image of the family coat of arms, representing a deer, as with all the families derived from the Mikola family. The inscription incised in Latin, with Antiqua characters, reveals, on the border of the monument, the name of the deceased and the year of his passing into eternity:

H(a)EC EST / TUMB(a) EGREGII VIRI JOHANIS VERES CUI / ANIMA RESIDET IN C(o)ELIS 1510.

The year of the incision is severely damaged, being deciphered in several ways in the specialised literature: in Vincze Bunyitay's work the year is 1500, while Jolán Balogh suggests the year 1510. On 20 April 1513, the documents mentioned a János Farnosi Veres, who was probably the son of the deceased. In the sources, his wife is mentioned for the first time as a widow in 1515.

A typical example of modest rural churches, the Reformed church from Sfăraș is also considered to be an outstanding monument because of its church furniture assembly, specific to the Călata area in the second half of the 18th century, which was the work of the famous Umling family of painter-carpenters from Cluj and has been preserved almost entirely unchanged to this day.

¹¹ Balogh Jolán, *Az erdélyi renaissance*, vol. I, Cluj, 1943, pp. 35/8, 205/62, 226-227; Entz 1996, pp. 133, 144, 215, 284-285, 529.

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Fig.1

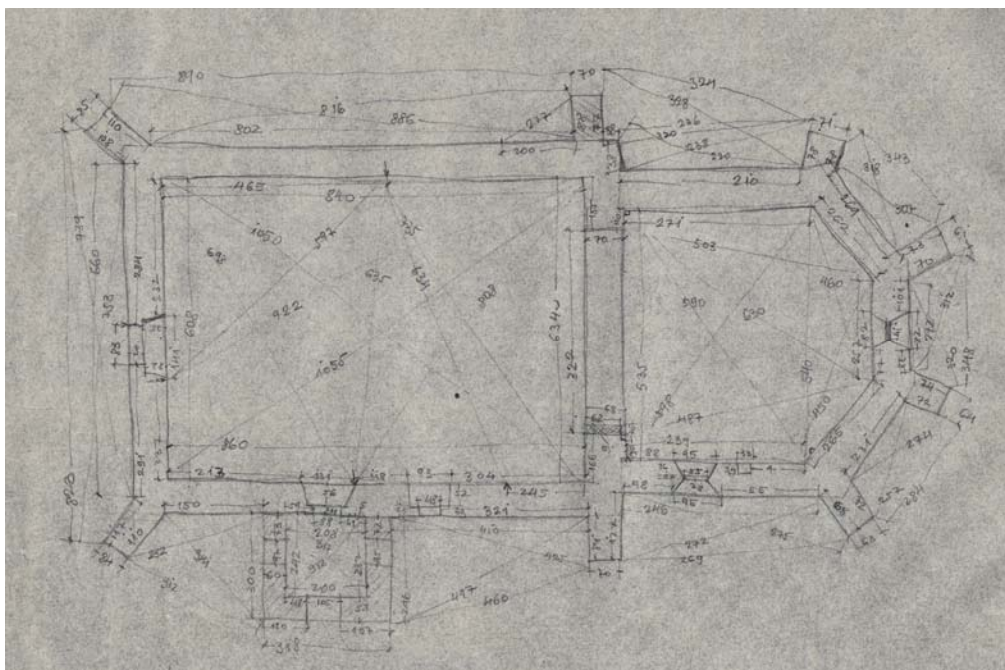


Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13

Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16

VICTOR V. VIZAUER¹

THE ROLE OF ONOMASTICS IN RESEARCHING THE HISTORY OF TRANSYLVANIA DURING THE 12TH AND 13TH CENTURIES. CASE STUDY: ETHNOTOPONYMS

Abstract: Through this study I have managed to analyse a number of place names containing references to the ethnicity of the populations that lived in various settlements across and around Transylvania. The ethnotoponyms under investigation have been extracted from documents issued in the 12th-13th centuries, which take into account the approximate geographical area of Transylvania, Banat, Crişana and Maramureş. Besides toponymic and documentary sources, in my approach I have used data from chronicles, as well as information from archaeological researches. In this article, what can be seen very clearly is the importance of the auxiliary sciences of history – in this case the science of onomastics – for a more profound knowledge of the realities existing in this geographical and cultural area during the Middle Ages.

Keywords: Transylvania, toponymy, ethnicity, medieval archaeology, documents

*

Through this study, we intend to bring into discussion *ethnotoponyms*,² which represent a separate category of toponyms encountered in official documents issued during the 12th and the 13th centuries. The geographical space we shall focus on is bounded by the present-day territories of Transylvania, Banat, Crişana and Maramureş, but it also “crosses” the state borders with Hungary and Serbia, in keeping with the extent of the medieval counties. The recorded ethnotoponyms, along with a brief description thereof, are catalogued in the Appendix at the end of this study.

As regards the type of interdisciplinary research we shall approach here, we believe that by corroborating the information provided by the written sources (official documents and chronicles) with the data resulting from archaeological investigations and with onomastics – as an auxiliary science of history – we can outline a clearer picture of the medieval Transylvanian habitat and of the ethnicities that dwelled together in this area.

After a brief and general overview in this article of the ethnotoponyms identified for the 12th and the 13th centuries, the research will continue (in the form

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² In the specialised terminology, ethnotoponyms represent place names that make reference to the ethnic elements of a population, a tribe, a caste or a nation – Patricia de J. Carvalhinhos, “Etnotoponímia comparada e antroponímia: sistemas de nomeação e fundamentos do nome próprio,” in *Círculo Fluminense de Estudos Filológicos e Linguísticos*, Cadernos do CNLF, vol. XII, no. 9, Rio de Janeiro, 2009, pp. 106-117.

of future articles) by analysing particular names of settlements, by ethnic groups, by assessing the opinions expressed in the Romanian, Hungarian and/or German or Slavic historiographies, as appropriate, and by drawing conclusions (whether definitive or not, this remains to be seen) based on both the oldest and the latest investigations on this interesting topic.

The first group of ethnotoponyms are those that foreign guests talked about. Thus, the name of the village *Zaazfenes* in Cluj County (the present-day Florești, Cluj County, Appendix, no. 30) suggests a German presence. That *zaaz* may represent a different spelling of *sas*, meaning Saxon (*szász* in contemporary Hungarian), the name of the settlement meaning *Saxon Fenes*. Another village near Cluj was the one referred to in the documents as *Sassag* (Appendix, no. 22), vanished today. Given that in the area (at Cluj, Turda, Ocna Turda, Dej, Ocna Dej, Sic, Cojocna) there were colonised many Germans, their possible presence in the two settlements neighbouring Cluj was normal.

Moreover, in Bihor and Satu Mare Counties, we encounter ethnotoponyms confirming the presence of Germanic populations: *Sashad* (Appendix, no. 21) and, respectively, *Nempti/Nemythy* (Appendix, no. 14). The existence of Teutons or guests in Bihor County was also confirmed by the cleric Rogerius, who spoke about *Pontem Thome, magnam Theutonicorum uillam super fluvium Crisii positam*,³ that is, a settlement of some German guests, called *Podul lui Toma* (Toma's Bridge), and by Valder's documentary evocation, *hospitem de Bichor*.⁴ In Sătmar County, there were Germanic settlers, among others, at *Megyes* (Medieșul Aurit)⁵ and at *Zothmar* (Satu Mare).⁶

In the case of the documentary references to *Villa Latina* (Appendix, no. 26), *Villa Latinorum Waradiensium* (Appendix, no. 27) or *Olozi* (Appendix, no. 16), one cannot specify exactly what the ethnicity of the inhabitants was. During the 12th century, many Walloons were settled in Hungary and in other parts of Central Europe, especially in the episcopal centres. Besides being called *Latins*, they were also referred to as *olasz*; however, these terms could refer to any population speaking a language of Latin origin.⁷ György Székely considered that the villages called *Latina* or *Olaszi* were inhabited primarily by Walloons, and that only in certain cases were

³ M. Rogerii, "Carmen miserabile," in G. Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele Istoriei Românilor*, [Hereinafter: "Carmen miserabile"], vol. V, București: Editura Bucovina, 1935, Chap. XXXIV.

⁴ Johannis Karácsonyi, Samuelis Borovszky, *Regestrum Varadinense. Examini ferri candentis*, [Hereinafter: *Regestrum Varadinense*], Budapest, 1903, doc. 388, pp. 306-307; *Documente privind Istoria României*, C. Transilvania, the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries, Vol. I (1075-1250) [Hereinafter: *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*], București: Editura Academiei R.P.R., 1951, doc. 67/388, p. 147; Jakó Zsigmond, *Codex diplomaticus Transsylvaniae/Erdélyi okmánytár*, I, 1023-1300, [Hereinafter: *EO I*], Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1997, doc. 182, p. 182 (year 1235).

⁵ *Documente privind Istoria României*, C. Transilvania, the 13th century, Vol. II (1251-1300), [Hereinafter: *DIR.C.II (XIII)*], București: Editura Academiei R.P.R., 1952, doc. 137, pp. 139-140.

⁶ Wenzel Gusztáv, *Árpádokori új okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*, IX, 1272-1290, [Hereinafter: *Wenzel IX*], Pest, 1871, doc. 413, pp. 561-562; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 166, p. 158; doc. 508, pp. 463-464.

⁷ Pál Engel, *Regatul Sfântului Ștefan. Istoria Ungariei Medievale 895-1526*, Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2006, p. 87.

the references made to Italians.⁸ By contrast, Nicolae Drăganu believed that the Latins in Oradea were Italians.⁹

The sources attest the presence of foreigners who arrived on the territory of Hungary from areas in which a Romance language was spoken: for example, in Sopron County, King Andrew II bestowed, in 1223, a *place of settlement* upon Comes Symon and his relatives (*locum descensionis in regno nostro sibi et cognatis suis*), who came from Aragon.¹⁰ At an even earlier time, mercenaries from the area of France had fought alongside King Stephen II (1114-1132).¹¹ In *Nestor's Chronicle*, the Latins actually represented the Christians (clerics) affiliated with Rome.¹² However, the clergymen in this area, subordinated to the Roman Pontiff, may also have been Germans, as evidenced by the *Life of St. Gerard*.¹³ One more reason why we should consider that the inhabitants of some of the Latin villages were Germanic is that *Villa Latina* was the property of the Saxon knights Corrad and Daniel, the sons of Johannes Latinus (perhaps the name of the village was derived from Johannes's nickname, or the other way around). Consequently, the villages of the Latins may have been inhabited by Italians, Hispanics, Germans, French or Walloons, and insofar as Transylvania is concerned, we may restrict the circle to Italians, Germanics and Walloons.

The problem is much simpler for the ethnotoponyms *Pad Saxonicam* (Appendix, no. 18) and *Pad Hungaricam* (Appendix, no. 17), from the county of Alba, where the ethnicity of the population is very clear: Germans and, respectively, Hungarians. The presence of guests in Alba County is attested not only by the official documents, the toponymy and the anthroponymy, but also by archaeological research. During the excavations carried out at the *Cathedral II* of Alba Iulia, there were discovered tombs with a cephalic niche. This confirms the presence – temporary or permanent, in relation to the construction of the cathedral – of one or several groups of foreign guests. Their possible arrival from different parts of Europe is indicated by the existence of three variants of burial in tombs with a niche for the head.¹⁴ This type

⁸ György Székely, *A Székesfehérvári latinok és a vallonok a középkori Magyarországon*, în *Székesfehérvár évszázadai*, vol. II, Székesfehérvár, 1967, pp. 45-72.

⁹ Nicolae Drăganu, *România în veacurile IX-XIV pe baza toponimiei și onomastice*, București: Imprimeria Națională, 1933, p. 293.

¹⁰ Georgius Fejér, *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae*, III, 1, Budae, 1829, pp. 393-396; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 148, p. 202.

¹¹ "Chronicon Pictum Vindobonense," in G. Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele Istoriei Românilor*, [Hereinafter: "Chronicon Pictum Vindobonense"], vol. XI, București, 1937, Chap. LXVIII.

¹² "Cronica lui Nestor," in G. Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele istoriei românilor*, [Hereinafter: *Cronica lui Nestor*], Vol. VII, București, 1935, Chap. XLII.

¹³ The teacher from the school founded by Gerard in Cenad was called Walther, his help was a German man (*Tewtonicus*) brought over from Székesfehérvár, named Heinrich, and some of the monks who had come from various parts of Hungary to the new monastery dedicated to St. George also had Germanic names: Konrad, Albert or Heinrich; in addition, the school led by Walther was attended by German, Czech, Polish, French students. etc., whom Gerard then settled in various parishes across his diocese. – "Vita Sancti Gerardi. Legenda Maior," in I.D. Suciu, *Documente privitoare la istoria Mitropoliei Banatului*, Timișoara: Editura Mitropoliei Banatului, 1980, Chap. 11-12, pp. 47-49.

¹⁴ Daniela Marcu Istrate, Angel Istrate, *Morminte cu nișă cefalică descoperite la Alba Iulia (Sec. XII-XIII). Contribuții privind istoria oaspeților occidentali în Transilvania*, în *Relații interetnice în*

of burial originated in Western Europe, indicating, for the territories of Central Europe, the movement of some population groups from the west.¹⁵

From Map 3, appended at the end of the study, we can ascertain that the distribution in the territory of ethnotoponyms referring to the Germanics and the Latins, coupled with the documentary references to the guests from the counties of Sătmăr, Cluj, Turda and Alba, confirms Thomas Năgler's opinion concerning one of the trails of colonisation: through the north-west, along the Someş Valley¹⁶ (or, perhaps, along the Crasna Valley), towards Cluj County, then, to Alba and, finally, to Sibiu and Burzenland.

Toponyms such as *Rusan*, *Ruscia*, *Vruz/Vrwz* or *Wrusy* (Appendix, no. 19, 20, 28 and 29) suggest the existence of Slavic inhabitants. In Hungarian, *orosz* (Vruz, Vrwz, Wrusy) means *Russian* and *Ruscia* is the name whereby the area of the Russian knezates was designated in the documents.¹⁷ The same term, *Ruscia*, was used by Rogerius in his *Carmen miserabile*, when referring to the aforementioned geographical and political space.¹⁸ Moreover, at an even earlier date, Anonymous used the name *Ruscia* for the space of the Russian knezates.¹⁹ Another geographical name that may have served as a source of the ethnotoponyms Rusan and Ruscia was *Rasia*, a name given, at that time, to a part of present-day Serbia. In his *Descriptio Europae Orientalis*, the Anonymous Geographer claims that *regnum Rasie*, which neighboured Albania to the south, consisted of two parts: Rasia and Serbia. The Geographer calls the inhabitants of these territories Ruthenians (*rutheni*).²⁰ As regards the names Vruz or Wrusy, in his work entitled *Compendium of Chronicles*, the Arab scholar and man of state Rashid Od-Din writes that the Mongols Batu, Kadan, Buri and Böcek set off against the land of *Urus* (i.e. Russia).²¹ Thus, both the forms Ruscia or Rusan and those of Vruz, Vrwz or Wrusy speak about a population of Slavic origin that resided in the above-mentioned settlements.

Transilvania (secolele VI-XIII), eds. Zeno Karl Pinter, Ioan Marian Țiplic, Maria Emilia Țiplic, Bibliotheca Septemcastrensis XII, București: Editura Economică, 2005, pp. 229-244 (p. 240).

¹⁵ Adrian Ioniță, "Mormintele cu gropi antropomorfe din Transilvania și relația lor cu primul val de colonizare germană," in *Relații interetnice în Transilvania (secolele VI-XIII)*, eds. Zeno Karl Pinter, Ioan Marian Țiplic, Maria Emilia Țiplic, Bibliotheca Septemcastrensis XII, București: Editura Economică, 2005, pp. 217-228 (pp. 219-221).

¹⁶ Thomas Năgler, *Așezarea sașilor în Transilvania*, second ed., București: Editura Kriterion, 1992, pp. 128-129.

¹⁷ Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, Nicolae Densușianu, *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor, 1199-1345*, Volume I, Part 1 [Hereinafter: Hurmuzaki, Densușianu, *Documente* I, 1], București, 1887, doc. CXCIX, pp. 259-262; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 296, pp. 344-347 (year 1250).

¹⁸ "*Carmen miserabile*," Chap. XIV.

¹⁹ Anonymus, "*Gesta Hungarorum*," in G. Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele Istoriei Românilor*, [Hereinafter: "*Gesta Hungarorum*"], vol. I, București, 1934, Chap. VII.

²⁰ Anonymi Geographi, "*Descriptio Europae Orientalis*," in G. Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele Istoriei Românilor*, [Hereinafter: "*Descriptio Europae Orientalis*"], Vol. II, București, 1934, Chap. IV and Chap. X-XI.

²¹ Aurel Decei, *Relații româno-orientale. Culegere de studii*, București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1978, p. 194.

The existence of some Slavic communities in the area of Bihor (where there were the villages Vruz/Vrwz and Wrusy) and Cenad Counties (where there was the village Rusan, on the territory of present-day Serbia) is confirmed by Rogerius, who recounts that on their way from Oradea to Arad and Cenad, the Mongols had also taken *Ruthenian* prisoners.²² These Ruthenians were inhabitants of Slavic ethnic extraction, the chroniclers – for example, Anonymous²³ or Simon of Keza²⁴ – also referring to the inhabitants of the Russian knezates as Ruthenians; the same thing was mentioned in the documents of the time, Halych, for instance, being considered a stronghold of the Ruthenians.²⁵ In fact, the proximity of the South Slavs, part of whom were controlled by the Hungarian royalty, had made it possible for groups of Slavic population to arrive in the territories of the medieval counties of Arad and Cenad.

Similarly, the Slavic habitation of the eastern part of Transylvania – where, in all probability, the village of *Ruscia* was located – has been confirmed by the archaeological investigations of the settlements from Bezid (Mureș County, the 7th-8th centuries),²⁶ Filaș (Harghita County; the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries),²⁷ Poian (Covasna County; the 6th/7th-8th/9th centuries)²⁸ or Sălașuri (Mureș County, the 7th-8th centuries).²⁹ Furthermore, in the north-eastern parts of Mureș County, there is a locality called, perhaps not coincidentally, Rușii-Munți (Russian-Mountains). In this context, it should be noted that a document from the year 1319 speaks about, among other things, a village called *Vruzfolu*³⁰ (Satul Rusesc, Russian Village), which the editors of *DIR* identify precisely with the locality Rușii-Munți. Thus, it is possible that the village of Ruscia (Appendix, no. 20) was the same with Vruzfolu, that is, the present-day Rușii-Munți.

Like in the case of the ethnotoponyms *Cechtelek* (Appendix, no. 5), *Cechy* (Cehei, Sălaj County; Appendix, no. 6), *Sczeck* (Sici, Sălaj County; Appendix, no. 24), in Crasna County, or *Chehy* (Cihei, Bihor County; Appendix, no. 7) in Bihor County,

²² “*Carmen miserabile*,” Chap. XXXVII.

²³ “*Gesta Hungarorum*,” Chap. X.

²⁴ Simonis de Keza, “*Chronicon Hungaricum*,” in G. Popa-Lisseanu, *Izvoarele Istoriei Românilor*, [Hereinafter: “*Chronicon Hungaricum*”], vol. IV, București, 1935, Chap. I.4.

²⁵ Hurmuzaki, Densușianu, *Documente* I, 1, doc. CLXXXIX, pp. 245-247; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 290, pp. 335-337. Later, from the 14th-15th centuries on, the area bounded by Polesia and Volânia to the north, by the Voivodates of Krakow and Sandomierz to the east, by Podolia to the west and by Hungary and, respectively, Moldova to the south, became known as the *Red Ruthenia* – Grzegorz Jawor, *Așezările de drept valah și locuitorii lor din Rutenia Roșie în Evul Mediu târziu*, Iași: Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, 2012, p. 19.

²⁶ Zoltán Székely, “Așezarea prefeudală de la Bezid (jud. Mureș),” in *Marisia*, 6, 1976, pp. 117-123.

²⁷ For instance, Zoltán Székely, “Așezările din secolele VI-IX e.n. în sud-estul Transilvaniei,” in *Aluta*, 6-7, 1974-1975, pp. 35-56.

²⁸ Zoltán Székely, “Așezări din secolele VI-XI p.Chr. în Bazinul Oltului Superior,” in *SCIVA*, 43/3, 1992, pp. 245-306.

²⁹ Zoltán Székely, “Așezarea prefeudală de la Sălașuri (com. Veșca, jud. Mureș),” in *Marisia*, 5, 1975, pp. 71-80.

³⁰ Varjú Elemér, *Oklevéltár a Tomaj nemzetségbeli Losonczy Bánffy család történetéhez*, Vol. I (1214-1457), [Hereinafter: *Bánffy I*], Budapest, 1908, doc. XLIX, pp. 47-48; *Documente privind Istoria României*, C. Transilvania, the 14th century, Vol. I (1301-1320), București: Editura Academiei R.P.R., 1953, doc. 381, pp. 332-333.

Slavic communities should be taken into consideration. The Hungarian name *cseh* – spelled as *cheh* – was attested in the late 11th century,³¹ which would appear to justify the existence of toponyms in the first half and in the middle of the 13th century.

As for *Chechtelek*, the editors of *Documente privind Istoria României*, vol. II, do not provide a present-day identification of the settlement in the territory. The data offered by the document that refers to this toponym make it clear that the medieval village lay near the Crasna River, somewhere between the localities Nuşfalău, Criştelec, Cehei and Crasna, all of which are mentioned in the act. The possibility that the estate or the little settlement Chechtelek had disappeared in the meantime is very high because no present-day place name is similar to or even reminiscent of the medieval toponym. The area is dotted with medieval vestiges, dating from the period between the 7th/8th and the 13th centuries, and the territory of Nuşfalău commune is particularly rich in discoveries. Besides the well-known tumular necropolis, there are no less than eight points with early medieval materials (the 8th-9th centuries).³² On the territory of the localities that concern us directly, only in Cehei have there been identified traces of medieval habitation (the 8th-9th and the 11th-13th centuries),³³ only the documentary mention remaining for Sici.

As regards *Chroath* (Horoatu Cehului; Appendix, no. 8) and *Huruat/Huruath* (Horoatu Crasnei; Appendix, no. 11), both from the present-day Sălaj County, there have, so far, not been identified any signs of medieval archaeological remains, documentary references representing the benchmark for this historical period. The same situation may also be found in the case of *Croac* village in Sătmar County (Appendix, no. 9).

Interest in the ethnotoponyms Chechtelek, Chechy, Sczeck, Chroath, Croac and Huruat/Huruath is fuelled by the possibility that they may have originated in the presence of a Slavic population (Czechs, Croats) in the area. As we have seen, there are early medieval and medieval archaeological findings in the area bounded by these localities. Moreover, there are remains around the neighbouring or nearby villages and towns. The most important indicators of the presence of some groups of Slavic population are: the cultural horizon represented by the tumular necropolises of the Nuşfalău-Someşeni type, which, after a long-lasting debate, were dated from the end of the 7th until the 9th century,³⁴ and the cemetery of some bearers of the Köttlach

³¹ Ilona K. Fábián, “Néhány népnévi eredetű helynév a Váradi Regestrumban,” in *Az V. Magyar Névtudományi Konferencia előadásai (Miskolc, 1995, augusztus 28-30)*, Szerkesztette B. Gergely Piroska és Hajdú Mihály, Kiadja a Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság és a Miskolci Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Intézete, Budapest-Miskolc, 1997, II, Helynevek, pp. 254-259 (p. 257).

³² Dan Băcuet-Crişan, *Așezările din secolele VII-IX de pe cursul superior și mijlociu al râurilor Barcău și Crasna*, Bibliotheca Musei Porolissensis IX, Editura Mega/Editura Porolissum, 2007, no. 14, pp. 60-67; Sabin Adrian Luca, Nicolae Gudea, *Arheologie și istorie (IV). Descoperiri din județul Sălaj*, [Hereinafter: *Descoperiri din jud. Sălaj*], Oradea: Editura Primus, 2010, no. 177, pp. 127-131; Sabin Adrian Luca, Nicolae Gudea, *Repertoriul arheologic al județului Sălaj*, [Hereinafter: *Rep. arheologic al jud. Sălaj*], Biblioteca Brukenthal XLV, Sibiu, 2010, no. 177, pp. 78-79.

³³ *Descoperiri din jud. Sălaj*, no. 48, pp. 52-53; *Rep. arheologic al jud. Sălaj*, no. 48, p. 38.

³⁴ Ioan Stanciu, *Slavii timpurii în cercetarea arheologică românească*, în *Ephemeris Napocensis*, XI, 2001, pp. 105-143 (p. 124).

culture, investigated in Zalău and dated to the 9th-10th centuries.³⁵ Incidentally, the first Slavs arrived in the north-western parts of Romania in the 6th-7th centuries.³⁶

We must also not lose sight of the statement made by Anonymous Notary concerning the populations encountered in the Land of Ultrasylvania by Ocmand, the spy sent by Tuhutum, namely: *Blasii et Sclau*.³⁷ Then, in the Vienna Illuminated Chronicle, it is recounted that King Stephen I (997-1038) waged war against Kean, *duke of the Bulgarians and the Slavs*, after which he gave the conquered country to Zoltán the elder; as of that moment, that part of Transylvania (*illas partes transiluanas*) was called *Erdeehui Zoltán*.³⁸ The claim made in *Annales Fuldenses* for the year 892, regarding the request addressed to the Bulgarians by the king of the Franks, whereby they were enjoined not to allow the transport of salt to Moravia any longer, suggests the possible presence in Transylvania, besides Bulgarians, of Moravians who were responsible for ensuring the delivery of salt to their country.

Arab sources from the 10th century talk about the existence of Croats somewhere northeast of the Carpathians and in *De ceremoniis*, the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus locates the Croats in the Caucasian Mountains; at some point, they allegedly subjected the Slavic population north of the Carpathian Mountains, then, in around 626, they migrated to Dalmatia, taking over, from the Avars, dominance over the Slavs in the region; however, there are no reliable accounts about the migration of an entire population from north of the Carpathians to the Adriatic Sea.³⁹ Nestor also mentions the *White Croats* among the Slavic populations. G. Popa-Lisseanu supplements the information provided by the chronicler with the notion that the White Croatians lived north of the Carpathian Mountains, on the upper Dniester, and that during the 7th century they migrated to the area in which they live today.⁴⁰ During the Croats' movement to Southern Europe, along an unknown itinerary, perhaps also accompanied by other Slavs, some of them may have arrived in the north-western parts of present-day Romania. However, a migration of the Slavs known as the White Croatians to this area could occur even later. Nestor confirmed their existence north of the Carpathians and, at the end of the 10th century, in 991, Vladimir, Prince of Kiev, launched a military campaign against them.⁴¹ It is possible that the scale of this campaign was not large enough to warrant being captured in chronicles or annals. The third possible scenario is the arrival in these areas of inhabitants from medieval Croatia, a country ruled by the Hungarian

³⁵ Călin Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României în secolele VIII-X d.H.*, Cluj-Napoca: Editura Neremia Napocae, 2002, p. 160.

³⁶ Ioan Stanciu, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

³⁷ "*Gesta Hungarorum*," Chap. XXV.

³⁸ "*Chronicon Pictum Vindobonense*," Chap. XXXVIII.

³⁹ Walter Pohl, *Die Awaren. Ein Steppenvolk in Mitteleuropa 567-822 n.Chr.*, München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1988, p. 262.

⁴⁰ "*Cronica lui Nestor*," Chap. III, respectively, note no. 6, p. 34; see also the map at the end of the volume. For the geographical location of the Croats north of the Carpathians, one can also consult: Victor Spinei, *Marile migrații din estul și sud-estul Europei în secolele IX-XIII*, Institutul European, 1999, p. 110, fig. 22.

⁴¹ "*Cronica lui Nestor*," Chap. XLV.

royalty since the 12th century, following the granting of privileges or the colonisation of populations whose testimony may not have been captured in the written sources or may not have come down to us.⁴²

Although information regarding the ethnotoponyms Chechtelek, Chechy, Sczeck, Chroath and Huruat is not fully revealing, the fact is that they refer to Slavs, specifically to Czechs and Croats, a fact also supported by the presence, in other Central European countries, of very similar toponymic forms, such as: Cechy, Chey and, respectively, Chorvati, Huruathy, Horwahy, Horwath, already encountered in written sources of the 13th century.⁴³

In the meantime, the groups of Slavic population from the west and north-west of present Romania could receive “backup” through the prisoners taken in the numerous armed disputes with the Bohemians, the Moravians and the Poles, but also during internal struggles, when Slavic mercenaries fought alongside the parties involved in such conflicts.⁴⁴ It seems that probably because of demographic and economic reasons, many of those captured were left alive and settled in various parts of Hungary, with obligations, of course.⁴⁵

Therefore, the existence of ethnotoponyms indicating a Slavic presence on the territories of Crasna, Bihor and Solnoc Counties was not something out of the ordinary, regardless of whether they designate a state of fact contemporary with the documents that mention them or are remnants of previous realities, preserved via the local toponymy. Paradoxically, however, the very lack of formal references to Slavic settlers may be evidence that the inhabitants of this origin were more ancient, and by the time of the issuance of the documents from the 13th century, the toponymy of the micro-area had already been fixed,⁴⁶ which might explain why during boundary drawing, names like *Satul Slavilor* or the Slav’s Village did not come up (unlike, for example, *Satul Latinilor* or the Latins’ Village).

The concentration of several ethnotoponyms indicating a Slavic population in the north-west of Transylvania and Crişana (Map 2) contributes to reinforcing the accuracy of the Anonymous Chronicler’s statements regarding the identity of the inhabitants from the Land of Ultrasylvania (Romanians and Slavs) and the fact that

⁴² Pál Engel, *op.cit.*, p. 63.

⁴³ Rudolf Krajčovič, “Sprachwissenschaftliche Probleme des frühen Mittelalters. Die Ethnonymen Sloveni und Moravia im Karpatenbecken im 9.-12. Jh.,” in *Ethnische und kulturelle Verhältnisse an der mittleren Donau vom 6. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert*, Herausgegeben von D. Bialeková, J. Zábajnik, Bratislava: Veda Verlag der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996, pp. 421-427 (p. 442).

⁴⁴ “*Chronicon Pictum Vindobonense*,” Chap. LVIII.

⁴⁵ “*Chronicon Hungaricum*,” Chap. II.1, II.2 and II.3 – Simon of Keza speaks about the conversion of the prisoners into serfs, conditional nobles and foreign *castrenses* (whose role was to serve in the royal castra).

⁴⁶ The Slavs survived in most of the territories where they migrated, even though other populations may have settled there at a later time and despite the fact that they may have been placed under the political domination of a different ethnicity – Walter Pohl, “The Barbarian Successor States,” in W. Pohl, *Eastern Central Europe in the Early Middle Ages. Conflicts, Migrations and Ethnic Processes*, ed. Cristina Spinei and Cătălin Hriban, Bucureşti-Brăila: Editura Academiei Române/Editura Istros, 2008, pp. 143-158 (p. 154).

between Forests of Nyr and the Forests of Meseş the Hungarians had subjected several nations (*plures nationes*),⁴⁷ including, most likely, also Slavs.

Explaining the names of places across Hungary, Réső Ensel Sándor claimed, in the nineteenth century, that the name Besenyő had its origins in the name of the Pecheneg population (in Hungarian *besenyő* and in Latin: Bisseni, Bessi, Besseni or Picenati), which, at one point, was allowed to settle in the Hungarian Kingdom.⁴⁸ Therefore, villages with names like Besseneu, Bessene, Bessenyew, Bissena or Besenyeü Too (Appendix, no. 1, 2, 3 and 4) talk about the presence of the Pechenegs. The same opinion is shared by K. Fábián Ilona,⁴⁹ a Hungarian researcher who dealt specifically with the toponyms listed in the Register of Oradea (1208-1235).

Ethnotoponyms referring to the Pechenegs are found in the western part of the territory under investigation, more specifically in the counties of Sătmar, Bihor, Arad and Cenad. As evidence of their very early presence in the Banat areas stands the Pecheneg community from Beşenova Veche (Dudeştii Vechi, Timiş County), dated to the 9th-10th centuries, primarily based on the discovery of tumular graves that contained horse remains, investigated in the Bucova area.⁵⁰ The Pechenegs in the aforementioned settlement were attested in a document from 1369, when King Louis I promised to defend their rights, just like his father, Charles Robert had.⁵¹

In fact, in the area of Arad County (?) there also resided a group of population (or several) designated in the documents and chronicles as Ishmaelites – *Ismahelites*, probably originating from the Volga.⁵² In 1223, the Ishmaelites were mentioned because of a lawsuit in which they were involved, against the church and the provost in Arad.⁵³ Rogerius listed them alongside the Hungarians, the Ruthenians and Cumans captured by the Mongols on their way to Arad and Cenad.⁵⁴ At the end of his chronicle, the Anonymous Notary stated that during the time of Duke Taksony (the mid-10th century) there had come to Hungary nobles from Bular Land (Bulgaria on the Volga), bringing a lot of Ishmaelites with them – *multitudine Hismahelitarum*.⁵⁵ There may have also existed Pechenegs (and Khazars, about whom we will talk below) among these newcomers to the east of the territory controlled by Hungarians, since it is known that some of them embraced the Islamic faith.⁵⁶ In Hungary, the

⁴⁷ “*Gesta Hungarorum*,” Chap. XXIII and XXV.

⁴⁸ Ifj. Réső Ensel Sándor, *Helynevek Magyarázója*, Második Füzet, Pest, 1862, pp. 215-225.

⁴⁹ Ilona K. Fábián, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-256.

⁵⁰ Géza Bakó, “The relations of the principality of the Banat with the Hungarians and the Petchenegs in the tenth century,” in *Relations between the Autochthonous Populations and the Migratory Populations on the Territory of Romania*, eds. Miron Constantinescu and Ştefan Pascu, Bucureşti: Editura Academiei R.S.R., 1975, pp. 241-248.

⁵¹ *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, C. Transilvania, Vol. XIII (1366-1370), Bucureşti: Editura Academiei Române, 1994, doc. 410, pp. 624-625.

⁵² Mircea Rusu, “The autochthonous population and the Hungarians on the territory of Transylvania in the 9th – 11th centuries,” in *Relations...*, pp. 201-217 (p. 213).

⁵³ *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 141, pp. 196-197 and doc. 144, pp. 198-199.

⁵⁴ “*Carmen miserabile*,” Chap. XXXVII.

⁵⁵ “*Gesta Hungarorum*,” Chap. LVII; see also note no. 4, p. 123. Ishmaelites are also mentioned further north, in the district of Nyr (the year 1219) – *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 209, p. 229; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/209, p. 94.

⁵⁶ Victor Spinei, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

Pechenegs lived in the counties of Szabolcs⁵⁷ (neighbouring Sătmar and Bihor) and Pest,⁵⁸ having generally settled in the area of the Danube and the Tisza Rivers,⁵⁹ while in the county of Cenad, Besul (the Pecheneg) Petrus was nominated in a document from 1221.⁶⁰

The toponym *Tatar*⁶¹ (Appendix, no. 25) in Sătmar County brings to mind a population with Asian roots. Given the fact that the village was mentioned in 1215,⁶² prior to the great Mongol invasion (Rogerius referred to them as *Tartars*),⁶³ we may exclude the possibility that the ethnotoponym alludes to them, which opens the prospect that another population group of Eastern extraction resided here.

Thus, we cannot overlook a statement from the Anonymous Chronicler's *Gesta Hungarorum*, whereby after the defeat of the Ruthenians (Russians) and the Cumans (probably the Pechenegs or Khazars/Cabars),⁶⁴ a good part of the latter, along with their families, went to Pannonia alongside the victorious Hungarian Duke Almos. It seems that so did many Russians (Ruthenians), too.⁶⁵ The Anonymous Chronicler's account supports the possibility that a certain number of Cumans (Pechenegs) arrived in the Pannonian area and, as in the case of the Szeklers, they were settled at the edges of the Hungarian dominions, reaching thus the territory of the (future) county of Sătmar. In this case, it is irrelevant whether Anonymous compiled his chronicle in the 11th century or at the end of the next century, for it is possible that in 1215 there still existed here descendants of the Cumans/Pechenegs or that their memory was preserved through the name of the settlement.

Regardless of whether we speak about Cumans or Pechenegs in the case of Tatar village, another factor intervenes and eliminates both populations from the equation: the names under which Cumans were known at the time did not include *Tatars* or *Tartars*,⁶⁶ the situation being similar with the Pechenegs,⁶⁷ even though the latter's presence in the north-western areas of Romania was more plausible, given that they were actually attested in the county of Sătmar, in Crişana and Banat.

⁵⁷ *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 72, pp. 179-180; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/72, p. 59.

⁵⁸ *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 103, pp. 113-114.

⁵⁹ Victor Spinei, *op. cit.*, p. 119 and p. 120, fig. 24 – on the map, a Pecheneg group is placed at the confluence of the Criş Rivers.

⁶⁰ *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 280, p. 258; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/280, p. 114.

⁶¹ Although in the document there appears the Latin spelling *Catar*, the *DIR* editors considered that the correct form of the toponym is Tatar – *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, p. 73, note 2.

⁶² *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 126, p. 198; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/126, p. 73.

⁶³ "*Carmen miserabile*" – the Mongolians are referred to as *Tartars (Tartari)* throughout the narrative. The Mongolians are also called thus in "*Descriptio Europae Orientalis*" (Chap. II) and by Simon of Keza in "*Chronicon Hungaricum*" (*Mongli sive Tartari* – Chap. IV.12). It appears that the Mongols owed their name as *Tatars (Tartari)* to Genghis Khan's victory over their ancestral enemy, the tribe of the Tatars, also a Mongolian-speaking population, whose habitat lay along the river Kerulen. Thus, by the middle of the 13th century, the ethnonyms *Mongol* and *Tatar* had become synonymous – István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185-1365*, Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 9. See also: Mustafa Ali Mehmed, *Istoria turcilor*, Bucureşti: Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1976, p. 20.

⁶⁴ Pál Engel, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

⁶⁵ "*Gesta Hungarorum*," Chap. X.

⁶⁶ Victor Spinei, *op. cit.*, p. 202; István Vásáry, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁶⁷ Victor Spinei, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

Ilona K. Fábián leans towards a scenario whereby the toponym *Tatar* originated in an appellative and not in the name of a population, the “supplier” of the village’s designation having been a certain Tatar, mentioned in 1181.⁶⁸ Another proof that supports such a view is the existence, on the territory of medieval Hungary, of some Cumans bearing Mongolian names or names related to the Mongols. More specifically, these were two men, father and son, *Tatar filio Vgudey*, mentioned in a letter patent from 1333. A phenomenon attested was the use of ethnonyms (usually those of the subjected populations, but possibly also of the conquerors) as personal names, the Cuman anthroponyms of 12th and 13th centuries including examples like Baskord, Imek, Kitan, Urus, Quman, Qun and Tatar,⁶⁹ just like Qipčaq and Tatar were frequent personal names among the Mongols.⁷⁰

On the other hand, in Latin *Tartarus*, *Tartaros*, *Tartar* was used to designate the Inferno or something terrifying, infernal.⁷¹ We also know that in Bihor County (Nyr) there lived Ishmaelites and Pechenegs, the former having probably been Muslims, infidels in a Christian sense, while the latter may have been pagans.⁷² Under such circumstances, it is legitimate to ask: could the village Tatar have had infidel or pagan residents, for which reason it was named thus: Tatar/Tartar/Inferno? Perhaps a more thorough investigation of the problem will bring a satisfactory answer.

Another possible ethnotoponym with reference to a population of Asian origin is *Kazawar* (Appendix, no. 12) from Solnoc County (today Cuzdrioara, Cluj County). We have brought this toponym into discussion because *kaza* could be hinting at the *Khazars*, who are known to have arrived in the Pannonian region together with the Magyar tribes (one such tribe) or the *Kavars*, a name that Hungarians used to designate the populations they used as auxiliaries,⁷³ both in defending the borders and in foreign campaigns. The balance is tilted in favour of the former hypothesis by the Anonymous Notary’s account, which states that the country of Duke Menumorut was inhabited by *Cozari*,⁷⁴ creating the possibility that some of their groups crossed the mountains, settling in Northern Transylvania.

The fortress of Cuzdrioara was considered by Tudor Sălăgean as part of the easternmost line of beehives pertaining to the defensive system organised by the Hungarian royalty, to which the salt mines in the Dej area also belonged, a line along colonisation of various populations were made.⁷⁵ Although the clearest presence belonged to the Germanics – mentioned in documents of the 13th century – we cannot neglect the possibility that one or more of the auxiliary groups were brought into this area, in the interest of defence: Pechenegs, Szeklers, Khazars or their

⁶⁸ Fábián K. Ilona, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

⁶⁹ István Vásáry, *op. cit.*, p. 11, note 35 (*apud* L. Rásonyi, “Kuman özel adları,” in *Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları*, 3-6, 1966-1969, pp. 71-144 – pp. 88, 106, 113 and 136) and notes 37-38.

⁷⁰ István Vásáry, *op. cit.*, p. 11, notes 39 and 40.

⁷¹ G. Guțu, *Dicționar latin-român*, București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1983, p. 1206.

⁷² The Pechenegs’ resistance to Catholic proselytism is well known – Victor Spinei, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁷³ Gyula Kristó, *Ardealul timpuriu (895-1324)*, Szeged, 2004, pp. 204-205.

⁷⁴ “*Gesta Hungarorum*,” Chap. XI.

⁷⁵ Tudor Sălăgean, *Țara lui Gelou. Contribuții la istoria Transilvaniei de Nord în secolele IX-XI*, Cluj-Napoca: Editura Argonaut, 2006, pp. 121-122.

descendants. We know that with the Szeklers, Pecheneg groups were also settled in the south-east of Transylvania. Archaeological discoveries – especially the settlement of Turia, Covasna County (dated to the end of the 12th century – the 13th century) – indicate the end of the 12th century as the time of the Pechenegs' settlement in the area.⁷⁶ Also, the settlement called *Beșeneu* (present-day Viișoara, Bistrița-Năsăud County) – referred to as *Heydendorf* (the Pagans' Village) by the German population – indicates the survival of the Pechenegs until the colonisation of the Germanics.⁷⁷ There is a reference to the Khazars from 1219, when *balta Chazar*,⁷⁸ the Khazar pond (*stagnum Chazar/Csazar*; in Bihor) was mentioned. According to S. Dumitrașcu and I. Crișan, together with the anthroponyms of the Ishmaelites,⁷⁹ this indicates a survival of the Khazars in Crișana. The fact is further reinforced by the discovery of a Star of David pendant in the 12th-13th-century settlement from Cefa – *La Pădure*, the authors of the research believing that the bronze piece belonged either to a Jew (perhaps even to a rabbi) or a Mosaic Khazar.⁸⁰ Still, we must be cautious in this matter, because in a document issued by Andrew II in 1233 there is a clear distinction between the Jews and the Ishmaelites. What is more plausible is the identification of the Muslims with the Ishmaelites, the formula *Iudeos, Sarracenos sive Ismahelitas* appearing several times.⁸¹ In any case, it is known that among the Khazars there were both Muslims and Mosaics,⁸² so Khazars or their descendants could have been referred to through both names: Jews and Ishmaelites. Consequently, it is possible that Pecheneg or Khazar communities (or their descendants) were settled in Kazawar (Cuzdrioara) too, the former being called, generically, *Kavars* and being involved in defending the borders.

The ethnotoponyms *Olahteleky* (Appendix, no. 14) and *Olahteluk* (Appendix, no. 15) include, in their word structure, the term the Romanians were referred to by the Hungarians: *oláh*, which, in fact, was derived from *Vlach* (Vlakhoi, Blachii,

⁷⁶ Zoltán Székely, *Pecenegii în sud-estul Transilvaniei*, în *Aluta. Studii și comunicări*, XVII-XVIII, 1985-1986, Sfântu Gheorghe, 1988, pp. 197-210.

⁷⁷ Th. Nägler, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

⁷⁸ G.D. Teutsch, Fr. Firnhaber, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, I, [Hereinafter: *Teutsch, Firnhaber, I*], Wien, 1857, doc. XV, pp. 13-14; Hurmuzaki, Densușianu, *Documente* I, 1, doc. LI, pp. 69-70; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 113, pp. 170-172.

⁷⁹ The Ishmaelites' anthroponyms in the Nyr area are: Texa (*Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 139, p. 203; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/139, p. 75), Iliaz, Pentek (*Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 209, p. 229; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/209, p. 94), Elias and Peter (*Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 326, p. 276; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/326, p. 126).

⁸⁰ S. Dumitrașcu, I. Crișan, "Un pandantiv cu steaua lui David descoperit la Cefa – La Pădure," in *Crisia*, no. 26-27, 1996/1997, pp. 37-49.

⁸¹ *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 223, pp. 264-270 (see the Latin text on p. 397-403); *EO I*, doc. 168, pp. 176-177.

⁸² Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, *Ein jüdisches Großreich? Religion und Mission im reich der Chasaren* – [https://www.academia.edu/699593/Ein_j%C3%BCdisches_Gro%C3%9Freich_Religion_und_Mission_im_Reich_der_Chassaren_A_Jewish_Empire_Religion_and_Mission_in_the_Empire_of_the_Khazars_Working_Paper_\(11.12.2014\)](https://www.academia.edu/699593/Ein_j%C3%BCdisches_Gro%C3%9Freich_Religion_und_Mission_im_Reich_der_Chassaren_A_Jewish_Empire_Religion_and_Mission_in_the_Empire_of_the_Khazars_Working_Paper_(11.12.2014)). The article will also be published in a specialised journal - for information: Dr. Johannes Preiser-Kapeller (Austrian Academy of Sciences, the Institute for Medieval Studies).

Vlachi).⁸³ The first settlement is in Burzenland (today, probably, Tohanu Vechi, Zărnești, Brașov County), while the other, which has disappeared, was in Bihor County. These are two areas in which even the written sources confirm the presence of the Romanians. In the southern part of Transylvania, the Vlachs were mentioned at an early date: in the letter patent granted to the Teutonic Knights by King Andrew II in 1222 (*terra Blacorum*),⁸⁴ in the privileging document issued in favour of the German guests in 1224, when the forest of the Romanians and the Pechenegs (*silvam Blacorum et Bissenorum*)⁸⁵ was mentioned, and in a document issued in 1223, to attest the donation of the cleric Gocelinus to Cârța Monastery (*terram exemptam de Balaccis*).⁸⁶ Regarding the western area of Romania, we have Simon of Keza's account, which says that after the Hungarian dismounting, the Szeklers did not receive a territory in Pannonia, but were settled near the *Blackis*.⁸⁷ We believe that this space inhabited by the Romanians was situated somewhere in the eastern parts of Hungary and/or in the western area of present-day Romania.

The Szeklers' presence in the Bihor area is confirmed by the toponymy, namely by the names *Zekulhyd* (Appendix, no. 31), the present-day Săcuieni, and *Scekul* (Appendix, no. 23), Sititelec today. The chroniclers referred to them using the forms *Siculi*,⁸⁸ *Zaculi*,⁸⁹ or *Zekuli*,⁹⁰ and in official documents from the 13th century, the variants *Siculi/Syculi/Siculy*⁹¹ were used, which legitimises the attribution of these ethnotoponyms to the Szeklers.

I left the discussion on the toponym *Germand* (Appendix, no. 10) from Alba County (the present-day Meșcreac, Alba County) to the end because the form in which it appears is special, considering that in the 13th century the ethnonym *Germans* was not used in reference to the Germanic groups settled here, because the customary term was *saxones*. Coriolan Sucișu has identified, in addition to the oikonym in question, eight other localities containing the *German* in their names.⁹² Even if in most cases the term *German* appears only in mentions from the 19th century, each of these were located in areas of German colonisation.⁹³

⁸³ Gyula Kristó, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

⁸⁴ Hurmuzaki-Densușianu, I, 1, doc. LIV, pp. 74-76; Franz Zimmermann, Karl Werner, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, I, [Hereinafter: *UB I*], Hermannstadt, 1892, doc. 31, pp. 18-20; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 130, pp. 182-184; doc. 134, pp. 187-188.

⁸⁵ Hurmuzaki, Densușianu, *Documente* I, 1, doc. LXII, pp. 83-85; *UB I*, doc. 43, pp. 32-35; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 157, pp. 208-210.

⁸⁶ Hurmuzaki, Densușianu, *Documente* I, 1, doc. LVII, pp. 79-80; *UB I*, doc. 38, pp. 26-28; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 145, pp. 199-200.

⁸⁷ "*Chronicon Hungaricum*," Book I, Chap. III.6.

⁸⁸ "*Gesta Hungarorum*," for instance, Chap. L.

⁸⁹ "*Chronicon Hungaricum*," Book I, Chap. III.6.

⁹⁰ "*Chronicon Pictum Vindobonense*," Chap. X.

⁹¹ Hurmuzaki-Densușianu, I, 1, doc. CXCIV, p. 254; doc. CCVII, p. 280; doc. CCCXCIII, pp. 488-489 or doc. CCCCXIII, pp. 511-512.

⁹² Coriolan Sucișu, *Dicționar istoric al localităților din Transilvania*, Iași: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1967-1968, Vol. I, p. 256.

⁹³ Coriolan Sucișu, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87 (Bocșa Vasiovei, Bocșa, Caraș-Severin County), p. 225 (Făget, Timiș County), p. 258 (Gherman, Timiș County), p. 265 (Gladna Montană, Timiș County), p. 365 (Lugoj, Timiș County) and C. Sucișu, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 17 (Oravița, Caraș-Severin County), p. 77 (Reșița, Caraș-Severin County), pp. 97-98 (Sasca Montană, Caraș-Severin County).

Although this was a village with German guests, the toponym may have originated in the Latin word *germanus*, which meant, among other things, “from the same parents,” “brother,” or, in *germana*, “sister.”⁹⁴ Thus, reference was made to the similar origin of the inhabitants from Germand and of those from other settlements of guests from Alba County.

*

From the above lines, we can see that onomastics represents an auxiliary discipline of great importance for history, which may contribute to elucidating some of the numerous issues raised by research conducted on the realities of the Transylvanian Middle Ages. Once all the place names belonging to the linguistic and cultural background of each ethnic group attested in the region have been recorded (and not just those that contain a direct reference to ethnicity, which have been the focus of this study), things will become even clearer and the medieval history of Transylvania and its neighbouring territories (Banat, Crişana, Maramureş) will be enriched with extremely useful information.

Appendix:

Legend: **a.** – The element designated by the ethnotoponym; **b.** – The geographical location in the Middle Ages, oftentimes with approximation; **c.** – The ethnicity (probable, in some cases) to which the ethnotoponym refers; **d.** – Date; **e.** – Bibliography; **f.** – Other comments.

*

1. **Beseneu/Besene/Besenew:** **a.** settlement; **b.** Bihor County (a now-vanished locality near Oradea); **c.** Pechenegs; **d.** 1226, 1273, 1291-1294; **e.** *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 352, p. 288; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/352, p. 134; *UB I*, doc. 169, pp. 122-123; Emil Jakubovich, “A váradi püspökség XIII századi tizedjegyzéke,” in *Magyar Nyelv*, Vol. XXII, no. 5-10, [Hereinafter: *Jakubovich*], Budapest, 1926, pp. 220-223, 298-301, 357-363 (p. 301); *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 161, pp. 153-154; doc. 381, p. 342.

2. **Beseneu/Land of the Bissens:** **a.** estate; **b.** Cenad County (it may have been the village of Bessenew – Beşenova Veche, the present-day Dudeştii Vechi, Timiş County – *DRH.C.XIII*, doc. 410, pp. 624-625); **c.** Pechenegs; **d.** 1230, 1232; **e.** *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 199, pp. 240-241; *Hurmuzaki-Densuşianu*, I, 1, doc. XCVII, pp. 124-126; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 219, pp. 261-263; **f.** the estate belonged to the fortress of Cenad.

3. **Besenyëi Too:** **a.** settlement; **b.** Sătmăş County (?); **c.** Pechenegs; **d.** 1169; **e.** Georgius Fejér, *Codex Diplomaticus Hvmgariae Ecclesiasticvs ac Civilis*, Tomvs VII, Volvmen I, Budae, 1831, doc. CXVI, pp. 161-163; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 10, pp. 4-6.

4. **Bessenýew/Bissena:** **a.** settlement and forest; **b.** Arad County; possibly near the locality Agriş; **c.** Pechenegs; **d.** 1202-1203; **e.** *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 41, pp. 23-27 (the Latin text on pp. 363-367); **f.** estate belonging to the church in Arad.

5. **Chechtelek:** **a.** settlement – *telek*; **b.** Crasna County (probably a vanished settlement); **c.** Slavs (?); **d.** 1259; **e.** Ipolyi Arnold, Nagy Imre, Vég hely Dezső, *Hazai okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus patrius*, VI, [Hereinafter: *Codex diplomaticus patrius VI*],

⁹⁴ G. Guţu, *op. cit.*, p. 519.

Budapest, 1876, doc. 58, pp. 89-93; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 25, p. 27-31; *EO I*, doc. 230, pp. 200-203.

6. **Chechy**: **a.** settlement – *villa; terra*; **b.** Crasna County (the present-day Cehei, Sălaj County); **c.** Slavs; **d.** 1259; **e.** *Codex diplomaticus patrius VI*, doc. 58, pp. 89-93; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 25, pp. 27-31; *EO I*, doc. 230, pp. 200-203.

7. **Chehy**: **a.** settlement; **b.** Bihor County (the present-day Cihei, Bihor County); **c.** Slavs; **d.** 1220; **e.** *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 265, p. 252; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/265, p. 110.

8. **Chroath**: **a.** settlement – *villa, terra*; **b.** Middle Solnoc County (the present-day Horoatu Cehului, Sălaj County); **c.** Slavs; **d.** 1220; **e.** *EO I*, doc. 108, p. 152; *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 238, pp. 242-243; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/238, p. 103.

9. **Croac**: **a.** settlement – *terra*; **b.** Sătmar County (probably a vanished settlement); **c.** Slavs; **d.** 1238; **e.** Georgius Fejér, *Codex Diplomaticus Hvgariae Ecclesiasticvs ac Civilis*, Tomvs IV, Volvmen I, Budae, 1829, pp. 104-111 (p. 108); *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 258, pp. 305-310; **f.** the land was removed from dependency on the fortress Valka, near Satu Mare.

10. **Germand**: **a.** settlement – *terra*; **b.** Alba County (the present-day Meşcreac, Alba County); **c.** Germans; **d.** 1264; **e.** *Hurmuzaki-Densuşianu*, I, 1, doc. CCXXXIV, p. 323; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 48, pp. 54-55; *EO I*, doc. 252, pp. 209-210; doc. 539, pp. 305-307.

11. **Huruat/Huruath**: **a.** settlement – *terra*; **b.** Crasna County (the present-day Horoatul Crasnei, Sălaj County); **c.** Slavs – Croats: in Hungarian, *horváth* means *Croat*; **d.** 1213, 1270; **e.** *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 21, p. 162; Szentpétery Imre, *Regesta Regum Stirpis Arpadianae Critico-Diplomatica/Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke*, Tomus II/II Kötet, 1 Füzet (1255-1272), Budapest, 1943, doc. 1906; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/21, p. 47; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 110, pp. 120-121; *EO I*, doc. 50, p. 137; doc. 283, pp. 221-222.

12. **Kazawar**: **a.** settlement, fortress/embankment (?); **b.** Solnoc County (the present-day Cuzdrioara, Cluj County); **c.** Khazars (?); **d.** 1249; **e.** *Hurmuzaki-Densuşianu*, I, 1, doc. CLXXXIX, pp. 245-247; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)* doc. 290, pp. 335-337; *EO I*, doc. 209, pp. 193-194.

13. **Nempti/Nemythy**: **a.** settlement; **b.** Sătmar County (the present-day Mintiu, a district of the town of Satu Mare); **c.** German guests; **d.** 1273-1290 – 1299; **e.** *Wenzel IX*, doc. 413, pp. 561-562; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 166, p. 158; doc. 508, pp. 463-464; **f.** in Hungarian, *német* means German.

14. **Olahtelek/Tohou**: **a.** settlement – *telek*; **b.** Burzenland (probably the present-day Tohanu Vechi, Zărneşti, Braşov County); **c.** Romanians; **d.** 1294 or 1272-1290; **e.** *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 451, pp. 403-404; *EO I*, doc. 320, pp. 231-232.

15. **Olahteluk**: **a.** settlement – *telek*; **b.** Bihor County (a vanished settlement somewhere between Uileacu de Criş and Cuiuşd, Bihor County); **c.** Romanians; **d.** 1283; **e.** *Hurmuzaki-Densuşianu*, I, 1, doc. CCCLIX, p. 446; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 278, pp. 245-246; *EO I*, doc. 402, p. 261.

16. **Olozi**: **a.** settlement – *villa*; **b.** Bihor County (the present-day Olosig, Bihor County); **c.** guests (?); **d.** 1291-1294; **e.** *Jakubovich*, p. 357, 360; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 381, pp. 335-347.

17. **Pad Hungaricam (Hungarian Pad)**: **a.** land – *terra*; **b.** Alba County (vanished settlement, possibly in the area of the locality Pâclişa, Alba County); **c.** Hungarians; **d.** 1265; **e.** *UB. I*, doc. 110, pp. 95-96; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 68, pp. 73-74; *EO I*, doc. 255, p. 210.

18. **Pad Saxoncam (Saxon Pad)**: **a.** land – *terra*; **b.** Alba County (vanished settlement, possibly in the area of the locality Pâclişa, Alba County); **c.** Germans; **d.** 1265; **e.** *UB. I*, doc. 110, pp. 95-96; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 68, pp. 73-74; *EO I*, doc. 255, p. 210.

19. **Rasan/Rusan**: **a.** settlement; **b.** Cenad County (abandoned settlement in Serbia, near Csoka); **c.** Slavs; **d.** 1256; **e.** Wenzel Gusztáv, *Árpádkori új okmánytár. Codex*

diplomaticus Arpadianus Continuatus, VII, 1235-1260, Pest, 1869, doc. 303, pp. 429-431; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 20, pp. 21-23; *EO I*, doc. 222, pp. 197-199.

20. **Ruscia:** **a.** settlement; **b.** Turda County (?); possibly vanished settlement, somewhere in the area of the Călimani Mountains, or the locality Rușii-Munți, Mureș County; **c.** Slavs; **d.** 1228; **e.** *Bánffy I*, doc. IV, pp. 3-7; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 191, pp. 232-234; *EO I*, doc. 152, pp. 169-170.

21. **Sashad:** **a.** settlement; **b.** Bihor County (?); **c.** Germans; **d.** 1214; **e.** *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 104, p. 191; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/104, p. 68.

22. **Sassag/Sussag:** **a.** settlement; **b.** Cluj County (vanished settlement near the city of Cluj); **c.** Germans; **d.** 1295, 1297; **e.** *UB I*, doc. 269, pp. 198-199; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 464, pp. 414-415; doc. 490, pp. 435-438; *EO I*, doc. 537, pp. 304-305; doc. 562, pp. 317-319.

23. **Scecul:** **a.** settlement – *villa*; **b.** Bihor County (the present-day Sititelec, Bihor County); **c.** Szeklers; **d.** 1213; **e.** *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 26, p. 164; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/26, p. 48.

24. **Sczech:** **a.** settlement – *terra*; **b.** Crasna County (the present-day Sici, județul Sălaj); **c.** Slavs (?); **d.** 1259; **e.** *Codex diplomaticus patrius*, doc. 58, pp. 89-93; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 25, pp. 27-31; *EO I*, doc. 230, pp. 200-203.

25. **Tatar (Catar):** **a.** settlement; **b.** Sătmár County (the present-day Szamostatárfalva, Hungary); **c.** Pechenegs (?); **d.** 1215; **e.** *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 126, p. 198; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/126, p. 73.

26. **Villa Latina:** **a.** settlement – *villa*; **b.** Târnava County (the present-day Văleni, Brașov County); **c.** Latin guests (?); **d.** 1231; **e.** *Hurmuzaki-Densușianu*, I, 1, doc. XCIV, pp. 120-121; *UB I*, doc. 63, pp. 54-55; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 212, pp. 254-255; *EO I*, doc. 163, p. 174; **f.** the village was owned by the Saxon knights (*milites*) Corrad and Daniel, the sons of Johannes Latinus.

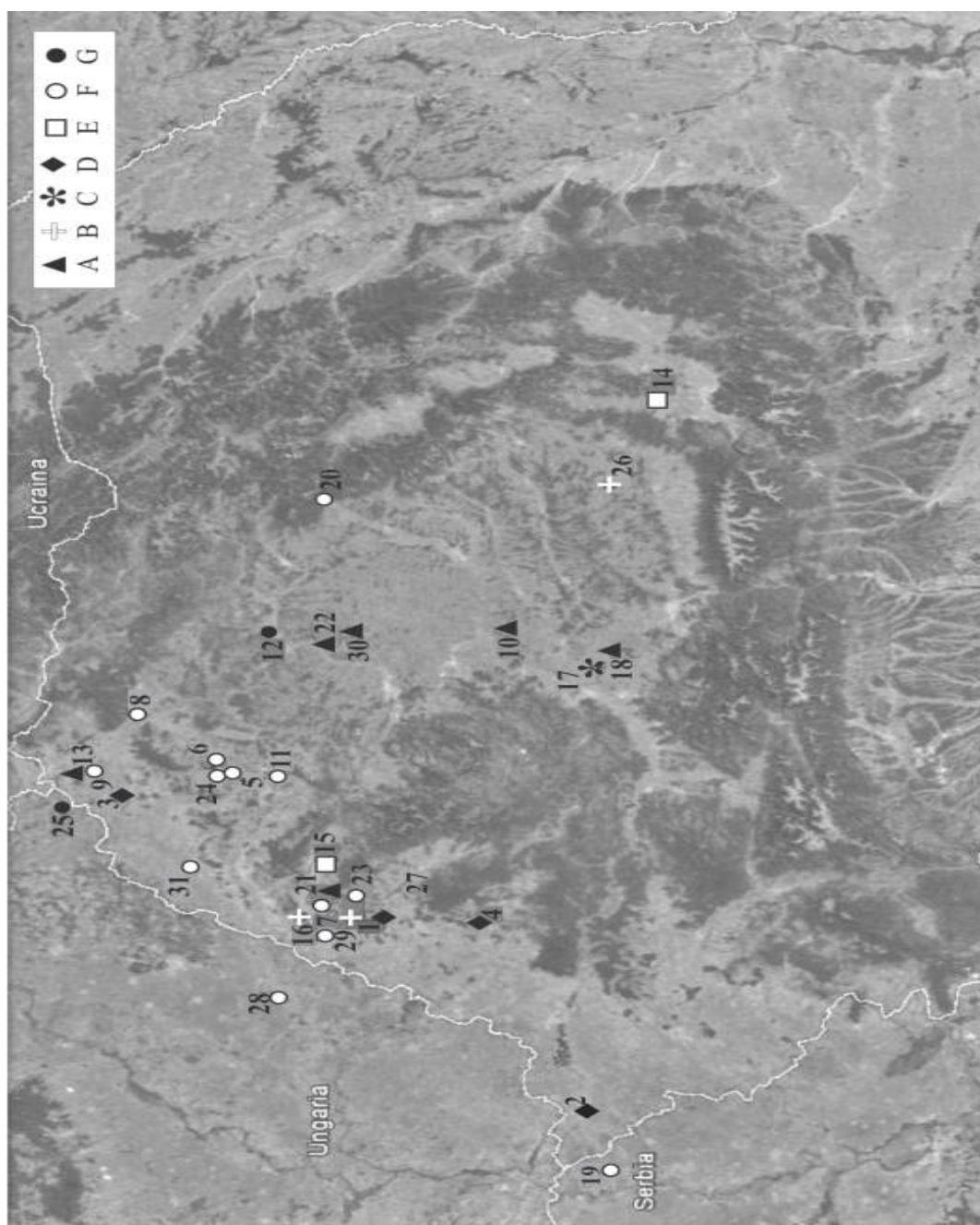
27. **Villa Latinorum Waradiensium/Olazy:** **a.** settlement – *villa*; **b.** Bihor County; **c.** Latins arrived from Italy (?); in Hungarian: *ólasz* = Italian; **d.** 1215, 1273, 1285, 1291-1294; **e.** *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 137, p. 202; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/137, p. 75; *Hurmuzaki-Densușianu*, I, 1, doc. CCCLXVIII, pp. 459-460; *UB I*, doc. 169, pp. 122-123; doc. 209, pp. 148-149; *Jakubovich*, pp. 299, 357, 359-360; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 161, pp. 153-154; doc. 313, pp. 277-278; doc. 381, pp. 343, 347; **f.** this was a village that later became a district of Oradea; other names: *Olaszi*, *Venecys* (Oradea's Venice).

28. **Vruz/Vrws:** **a.** settlement – *villa*; **b.** Bihor County (a vanished settlement, somewhere on the territory of Hungary); **c.** Slavs; **d.** 1220, 1221, 1279; **e.** *Regestrum Varadinense*, doc. 274, p. 255; doc. 317, pp. 273-274; *DIR.C.I (XI-XIII)*, doc. 67/274, p. 112; doc. 67/317, p. 124; Wenzel Gusztáv, *Árpádkori új okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*, XII, Pest, 1874, doc. 212, pp. 250-253; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 225, pp. 201-203; *EO I*, doc. 365, p. 249.

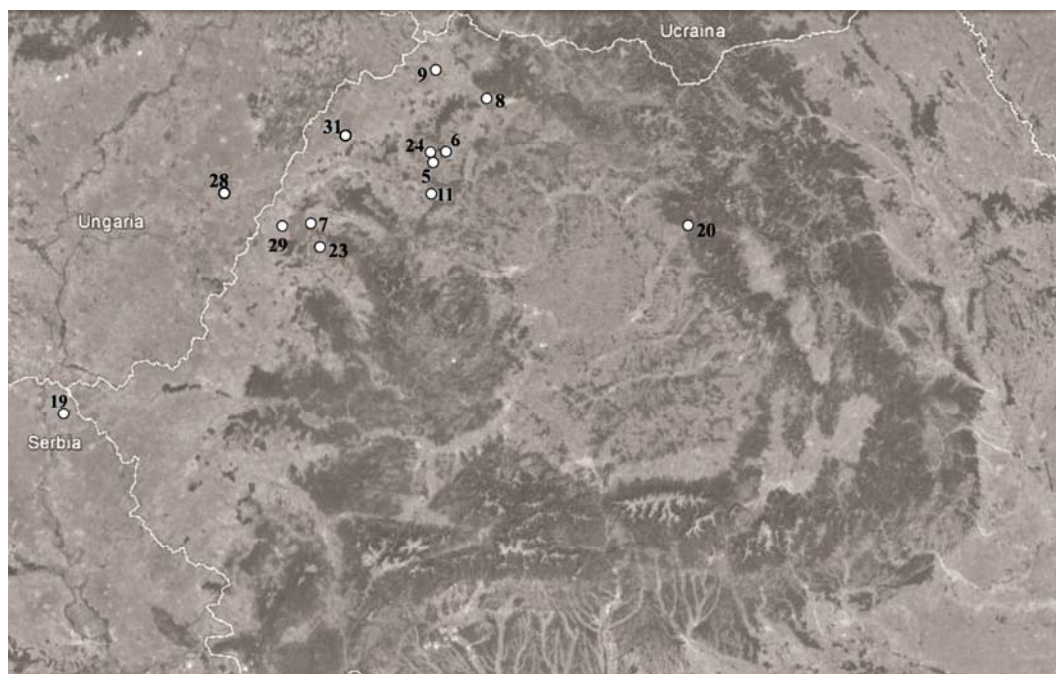
29. **Wrusy:** **a.** settlement; **b.** Bihor County (a vanished settlement near Gepiu, Bihor County); **c.** Slavs; **d.** 1291-1294; **e.** *Jakubovich*, p. 358; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 381, p. 344.

30. **Zaazfenes:** **a.** settlement; **b.** Cluj County (the present-day Florești, Cluj County); **c.** Germans; **d.** 1297; **e.** *UB I*, doc. 278, pp. 205-208; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 490, pp. 435-438; *EO I*, doc. 562, pp. 317-319. **f.** *zaaz* might have been derived from *szás* or from the Latin *saxones*, and *Zaazfenes* was *Saxon Fenes*; in the subsequent documents relating to Florești, the village was called only *Fenes* – for instance, in the years 1298-1299 – *UB I*, doc. 280, pp. 209-210; doc. 283, pp. 211-212; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 493, pp. 439-440; doc. 512, pp. 468-469.

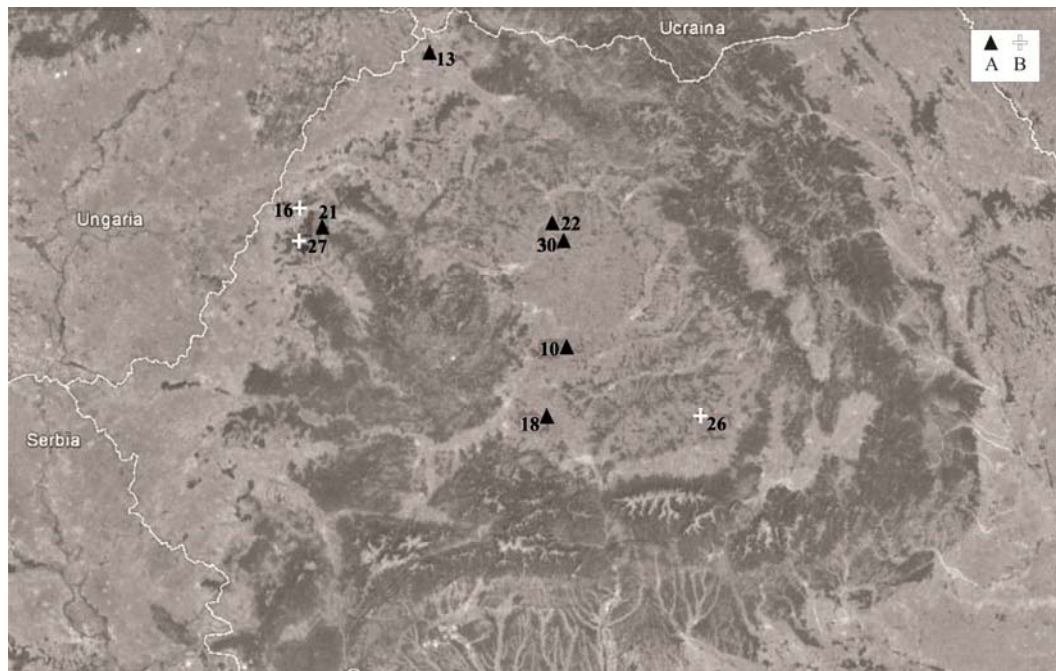
31. **Zekulhyd:** **a.** settlement; **b.** Bihor County (the present-day Săcuieni, Bihor County); **c.** Szeklers; **d.** 1291-1294; **e.** *Jakubovich*, pp. 222, 298; *DIR.C.II (XIII)*, doc. 381, p. 335.



Map 1: The ethnotoponyms in Transylvania, Banat, Crișana and Maramureș (12th-13th centuries); A-Germans, B-Latins, C-Hungarians, D-Pechenegs, E-Romanians, F-Slavs, G-Kovars (Khazars, Pechenegs?); numbers 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 15, 17, 18, 19, 22 and 29 are placed on the map with approximation, and 3, 9, 20, 21 and 28 with very great approximation (the figures on the map respect the numbering in the Appendix).



Map 2: Ethnotoponyms that make reference to Slavic communities.



Map 3: Ethnotoponyms that indicate the presence of German (A) and Latin guests (B).*

ADULTERY IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN MIDDLE AGES. CASE STUDY: THE VOIVODESHIP OF TRANSYLVANIA (14TH-15TH CENTURIES)

Abstract: Focusing on the issue of adultery in the medieval space of voivodal Transylvania, this article intends to bring to the fore little-known cases of adultery committed in this frontier area of the Christian world and to provide a picture of the environment in which these acts, deemed to be illegal from the vantage of social morality, took place.

Keywords: sexuality, adultery/fornication, clergy, laity, Transylvania

*

The issue of adultery represented a Jewish heritage that the new Christian theology had debated ever since its beginnings. There are numerous biblical examples that reveal the point of view of the Jewish society, as Moses did when he gave the laws to the people of Israel, to these being added the “fulfillment of the covenant” accomplished by Jesus Christ.

The historiographical “milestone” from which, anywhere in Western Europe, one can start a meaningful analysis, based on rich and diverse sources, is *Montaillou*, the study Ladurie dedicated to the small Occitan village with so many problems; however, our space does not have such sources to present an “adventure” like that of the Clergue family.² There are other sources for the treatment of such a topic in this space and I will outline them below.

According to any explanatory dictionary of the Romanian Language, the meaning of *adultery* is: “the violation of conjugal fidelity by one of the spouses.”³ Still, adultery had and still has the significance of fornication⁴ and the documents invoked in the creation of this typology reveal that the term also applies to the celibate “Latin” clergy who engage in sexual intercourse with married or unmarried female partners.⁵

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² E. Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou, sat occitan. De la 1294 la 1324*, vol. I, București: Ed. Meridiane, 1992, pp. 313-359.

³ V. Breban, *Dicționar al limbii române contemporane*. For current usage. București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1980, p. 15. For another definition, see Ovid Sachelarie, N. Stoicescu, *Instituții feudale din Țările Române. Dicționar*, București: Editura Academiei RSR, 1988, pp. 4-5.

⁴ *Dicționar biblic*, Oradea: Editura Cartea Creștină, 1995, p. 210. *Curvia* (fornication)=adultery.

⁵ Gustav Gündisch and Franz Zimmermann, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen, Band. 5, 1438-1457 [hereinafter Ub.]*, Köln: Editura Bohlau, 1998, doc. 2612, pp. 218-222: “contra presbiterum vel clericum in loco suspecto vel hora suspecta et cum muliere suspecta

As another source suggests (if the editor's translation is accurate), the demarcation, in theological terms, operated among the laity, separating the *fornicator* (an unmarried individual who has sexual relations with different partners, *porneia* in Gk.) from the *adulterer* (a married individual who violates the sacrament of matrimony by having sexual relations with different partners, *moiheia* in Gk.), also applied to the Roman Catholic clergy who had concubines, for such priests were referred through this last syntagm.⁶

In fact, medieval European literature is replete with stories touching upon sexual issues, featuring members of the regular or secular clergy, without distinction by gender.⁷

It is obvious that the starting point of trials in which adultery was incriminated was the Bible, which offered the model of punishment for those who attempted to break this sacrament of the Church: Christian marriage. As I have shown elsewhere, this found its birth in the miracle accomplished by Jesus in the Cana of Galilee.

In the Leviticus, Moses, the leader of Israel, said: "Moreover thou shalt not lie carnally with thy neighbour's wife, to defile thyself with her" (Leviticus 18:20). "And the man that commiteth adultery with another man's wife, even he that commiteth adultery with his neighbour's wife, the adulterer and the adulteress shall surely be put to death" (Leviticus 20:10). "And the man that lieth with his father's wife hath uncovered his father's nakedness: both of them shall surely be put to death; their blood shall be upon them" (Leviticus 20:11). He also clearly stated about priests and their wives: "They shall not take a wife that is a whore, or profane; neither shall they take a woman put away from her husband" (Leviticus 21:7), and said about the punishment of the priests' adulterous daughters: "And the daughter of any priest, if

repertum **adulterium vel criminem adulterii** per hos quorum interest legitime probari nequierit, tunc [...] clerico suspecto purgationem canonicam indicare debet [...] in officio suo ministrare permittat [...] ipsum suspendere non postponat. "

⁶ "the inveterate adulterous clerics who openly keep concubines should be suspended throughout the required period, stipulated even under ordinary law provisions. However, as they say that in those parts the sin of fornication is excessively widespread among the clergy ...," from the Establishment of Archbishop Chanadin for the Provostship of Sibiu in 1343, in doc. 194/1343, pp. 161-165 from *Documente privind Istoria României, seria C, Transilvania, veac XIV*, volume IV [1341-1350], București: Editura Academiei RSR, 1955 [hereinafter DIR, C, Trans.].

⁷ Dante Alighieri, for instance, places those who seduce and lure women in the eighth circle of the *Inferno*, in *Divina Comedie*, București: Editura de Stat pentru Literatură și Artă, 1954, pp. 183-185. Also illustrative is Boccaccio's tale recounted by the character Pampinea, a tale about the monk Alberto who tricks a young woman into sleeping with him, lying to her that he is the Archangel Gabriel, in *Decameronul*, București: Editura de Stat pentru Literatură și Artă, 1963, vol. I, pp. 372-382. In any case, these explicit references are interspersed throughout Boccaccio's work. Such allusions can also be found in the licentious lyrics of the Parisian poet with a penchant for criminality, François Villon, who stated in a poem (138): "Item to those genteel girls, who/ Have a father, mother, and aunts,/ I can give nothing of value,/ Since it all went to the servants;/ How wonderful if these sweet belles,/ Who have made do with a smidgen,/ Could get their hands on choice morsels,/ That the Jacobins have hidden," in *Poezii*, București: Editura Minerva, 1983, p. 108. Master Villon also wrote a dedication to an unidentified chaplain (159): "Item to Chappelain I pass/ My chapel of simple tonsure,/ Where you only do a dry Mass,/ Which cuts out the literature;/ I'd also give my curacy,/ But care of souls isn't his trade;/ Confessions aren't his fancy,/ Except for lady and chambermaid," p. 124.

she profane herself by playing the whore, she profaneth her father; she shall be burnt with fire” (Leviticus 21: 9). And in the Decalogue, in the book of Exodus, chapter 20, verse 14, and in Deuteronomy, chapter 5, verse 18, there appears the commandment that says: *Thou shalt not commit adultery!*

The Book of Deuteronomy, or of the second law, reiterates those asserted in the book of Leviticus, chapter 22, verses 20-24. What is important for this study is stated in verse 22: “If a man be found lying with a woman married to a husband, then they shall both of them die, both the man that lay with the woman, and the woman: so shalt thou put away evil from Israel.”

In reference to this subject, Jesus said: “Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery. But I say unto you, That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart” (Matthew 5: 27-28). In the same chapter, he also stated: “It hath been said: That whosoever shall put away his wife, let him give her a writing of divorcement. But I say unto you, That whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery; and whosoever shall marry her that is divorced committeth adultery” (Matthew 5: 31-32). In his first epistle to the Romans, the Holy Apostle Paul asserted with regard to this subject: “For the woman which hath a husband is bound by the law to her husband so long as he liveth; but if the husband be dead, she is loosed from the law of her husband. So then if, while her husband liveth, she be married to another man, she shall be called an adulteress: but if her husband be dead, she is free from that law; so that she is no adulteress, though she be married to another man” (I Romans 7: 2-3).

The Saviour did not pronounce himself as regards the punishment thereof, but his references to the adulterous woman contained glimpses of the possibility of repentance, with the forgiveness of the sins committed and the subsequent avoidance to commit them (John 8: 3-11, Luke 7: 37-50).

St. Paul also gave exhortations to temperance, considering fornication as a sin that dishonoured the Creator himself: “Flee fornication. Every sin that a man doeth is without the body; but he that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body. What, know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you, which ye have of God, and ye are not your own?” (I Corinthians 6: 18-19).

His spiritual advice for putting an end to fornication is marriage: “Nevertheless, to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and let every woman have her own husband” (I Corinthians 7: 2), and also “But if they cannot contain, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn” (I Corinthians 7: 9).

The Apostle urges that the adulteress or the adulterer should be forgiven, and there can be no reconciliation between them, they should separate in good peace: “And the woman which hath a husband that believeth not, and he be pleased to dwell with her, let her not leave him. For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband: else were your children unclean; but now they are holy. But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart. A brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases; but God hath called us to peace” (I Corinthians 7: 13-15). However, there is no forgiveness for unrepentant or

unbaptised fornicators: “For this ye know, that no whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man, who is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God” (Ephesians 5: 5). There can be no forgiveness for unrepentant fornicators, because they destroy Christ Himself, whose limbs are represented by humans: “Know ye not that your bodies are members of Christ? Shall I then take members of Christ, and make them the members of a harlot? God forbid! What? Know ye not that he which is joined to a harlot is one body? For two, saith he, shall be one flesh” (I Corinthians 6: 15-16).

Moreover, document 2612 from volume V of the *Urkundenbuch* suggests that if a man lured a virgin into a sexual relationship, which was, in any case, illegal, he was bound to wed her.⁸

In fact, Jean Delumeau remarked in one of his works that “The observers of yore also noted that shame, the cause of so many ‘pangs’ of conscience, manifested itself particularly on the occasion of sexual sins and paralysed especially women. For instance, Gerson was aware that the confession of bodily sins could only be wrested from most people with extreme difficulty.”⁹

I have inserted this quotation here because a common sense observation ought to be made. Adultery had dramatic consequences for perpetrators only when there existed a flagrant or an accusation, demonstrated beyond any legal doubt, even through entrapment or, why not, through perjury. As for the rest of the situations, they remained “crimes” managed between the penitents and their confessors, under the secrecy of confession.

I stated above that as a primordial source of law, the Bible underlies, in most cases pertaining to the church, the resolution of the problems of the time. In this sense, we can notice the great authority of the Old and the New Testament, as exemplified by the writings of Dionisie, cardinal priest of St. Chiriac’s Church of SER, Archbishop of Esztergom and legate of the Apostolic See. On this issue of matrimonial separation on the grounds of adultery, Dionisie proclaimed the authority of the Gospel before any impediments that the secular courts might invoke.¹⁰

⁸ “Art. 5. De viro et virgine invicem ad fornicandum (*fornication*) vel stuprum (*rape, adultery, incest*) committendum consentientibus de iure taliter censemur observandum, quod vir cum virgine fornicans vel stuprum committens vel virginem quam corrumpit in uxorem ducat...,” in *Ub.*, V, doc. 2612, pp. 218-222.

⁹ Jean Delumeau, *Mărturisirea și iertarea. Dificultățile confesiunii. Secolele XIII-XVIII*, Iași: Editura Polirom, 1998, p. 17. Probably in order to encourage the reception of the redemptive effect achieved through confession at the Fourth Council of the Lateran (1215), the canon *Omnis utriusque* ruled that confession before the parish priest was compulsory for all Christian believers. This obligation is highlighted by Jonathan Hughes in “The administration of confession in the Diocese of York in the fourteenth century,” in *Studies in Clergy and Ministry in Medieval England*, ed. David M. Smith, York: York University Press, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1991, p. 88.

¹⁰ “quod si vir vel mulier in adulterio deprehensus vel deprehensa in vestro seculari vel ecclesiastico iudicio accusari et iudici aliter experiri debeat, dicimus, quod quia causam matrimonii ad ecclesiasticum forum et iudicium discutiendam pertinere non sit dubium pro eo, quod si aliquando alter coniugium coniugem suum de adulterio accusare et quod separationem thori instare voluerit, hoc coram ecclesiastico iudice et non alio de iure prosequi debet. Quin et si separationem thori accusatore coniuge instante vel reconciliationem coniugum ipso accusatore coniugi suo adultero veniam vel gratiam faciente

One of the ecumenical councils that addressed issues related to the sexual life of Christians and their shepherds and to the reformation of the clergy in this respect (during the period under analysis) was the one organised in Basel (1431-1435). Here, in the session of 15-26 November 1433, the problem of concubinage or libertine sexual relations was brought into discussion with reference to the diocesan synods.¹¹ It was during this council that several statements related to adultery¹² were made. Thus, a demand was made that the laity, whether married or unmarried, should not make recourse to concubines, for any type of sexual relation outside marriage fell under divine law.

What remains to be discussed is the impact of the Council of Basel and the extent to which the conciliar recommendations were taken into account. It is certain that three ecclesiastical documents were issued in Hungary in the third decade, addressing precisely these problems. However, the claim that they represented the consequence of a council contested by Pope Eugenius IV is exaggerated. I believe that the situation in the field led to these “outbursts,” which nonetheless occurred 11 years after the Council of Basel. It is important to note that within the context of the problems discussed in the council, several speakers took a stand on the abnormal evolution of things in the *Sancte Ecclesie Romane*.

Prior to the period under discussion, attempts to regulate the situation in the Hungarian space had also been made via the recommendations issued by the General Synod of Buda (1279), which betrayed, in any case, numerous French and Provencal influences,¹³ some authors even considering that entire passages in the Angevin statutes had been transcribed exactly into the synodal text.¹⁴ The consequences of adultery or of the priests’ fornication are addressed in canon 11, which indicates the manner of raising children resulting from such relations.¹⁵

instantia super hoc **coram ecclesia et statutis ecclesiasticis tam veteris quam novi testamentorum auctoritate deferenda est.**” in *Ub.*, vol. V, doc. 2538, pp. 166-169. Another example in which the scriptural message is invoked as the supreme authority appears in a passage from the Statutes of the Mediaș Chapter, where the amount due for the funeral service is laid down in the section devoted to this subject, with the mention that if a greater fee was demanded, this bordered on downright avarice, serving the idols, according to the Apostle, who pronounced himself on the subject in chapter 3 of his Epistle to the Colossians, in *Ub.*, III, doc. 1406, p. 205. In fact, A. Vauchez had noted, at one point, that: “at every stage in the life of the Church, Christians have made choices within the vast Biblical heritage and have shown a special preference for some episodes or figures that met their aspirations better than others. The high Middle Ages was especially, attracted to the Old Testament, more attuned than the New to the state of the society and mentality of the time,” in *Spiritualitatea Evului Mediu Occidental (secolele VIII-XII)*, București: Editura Meridiane, 1994, p. 9.

¹¹ The Council of Basel (1431-1435), the session of 15-26 November 1433 cf. <http://www.piar.hu/councils/>, accessed on 3.05.2007.

¹² *Ibidem*, the session of 20-22 January 1435.

¹³ Ș. Turcuș, *Sinodul general de la Buda (1279)*, Cluj Napoca: PUC, 2001, pp. 43-44.

¹⁴ Joseph Avril (Paris), “Les prescriptions consiliaires et synodales des pays de l’Est de l’Europe au regard des législations françaises du XIIIe siècle. Pour une première approche,” in *Christianity in East Central Europe. The Late Middle Ages*, ed. Jerzy Kłoczowski, (Proceedings of the Commission Internationale d’Histoire Ecclesiastique Comparée, Lublin, 1996), pp. 17-32, Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-wschodniej, 1999, p. 24.

¹⁵ Ș. Turcuș, *Sinodul general de la Buda (1279)*, p. 211 (Romanian translation).

a. Adultery among the regular or the secular clergy.

I have encountered no such reference to the clergy in the voivodate, except for those mentioned in the documents which are reproduced in the collection *Urkundenbuch*, where it is stated that “contra presbiterum vel clericum in loco suspecto vel hora suspecta et cum muliere suspecta repertum **adulterium vel criminem adulterii** per hos quorum interest legitime probari nequierit, tunc [...]clerico suspecto purgationem canonicam indicere debet [...]”¹⁶ and which make reference, indeed, to the deaneries of Sibiu and Braşov, at the time of the canonical visitation undertaken in the area in 1447 by Thomas Armenus “licentiatus in decretis, prepositus collegiate ecclesie sancti Georgii martiris de viridi campo Strigoniensis ac canonicus alme ecclesie Strigoniensis [...] in Cibiniensi et Braschoviensi partium Transilvanarum decanatibus, iurisdictione alme ecclesie Strigoniensis subiectis visitator iudexque ac causarum auditor,” as well as “inquisitor heretice pravitatis generaliter et specialiter deputatus.”¹⁷

From inside the Voivodeship of Transylvania, we have information circulated by Pope Boniface IX. On 1 December 1391, the pontiff sent a letter to the Bishop of Transylvania to investigate whether, indeed, Iohannes, son of Nicolaus Wivarasy, Canon of the Church of Transylvania, who was known for his dissolute life (“ac vitio libidinis estuans”) with Helena, the wife of Iohannes, son of Demetrius from Aiud, and with the late wife of the late Antonius the miller, also from Aiud, was still worthy of holding a canonry and a prebendry. If he was found guilty, he should be stripped of any possession and removed from the clergy.¹⁸

Another case, involving an incestuous relation between a godmother and her godson, was also signalled by Pope Boniface IX, on 23 October 1400, when he wrote to the Bishop of Transylvania about the withdrawal of clerical revenues from Antonius yclept Heczal, rector of the parish church in Călnic, who had engaged in sexual relation with his godmother, Dorothea, the wife of Iohannes Koncz from Călnic, even after they had been caught red-handed in her home and after her husband had forgiven her for her notorious infidelity.¹⁹

From outside the voivodeship and the adopted chronology, there is some incomplete information from the Register of Oradea for the year 1214, case number 89, where it is literally stated that: “Archdeacon Martinus accused Belue and Mathia from the village of Ioubag (Timiş County) and Geka from the village of Zor (Arad County) and Kelemen from the village of Segu (Arad County) of having murdered his son.”²⁰ We can only suspect that this son was born from an adulterous relationship or from concubinage.

¹⁶ *Ub.*, vol. V, doc. 2612, pp. 218-222.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸ *Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia, seria I, vol. III, Budapest, 1889*, doc. 200, p. 175. The situation was rather convoluted because the late miller had murdered his wife for adultery and Helena had also engaged in sexual relations with a secular familiar of the canon, who had meanwhile been killed in Aiud.

¹⁹ *Monumenta Vaticana Hung.*, I/4, Budapest, 1889, doc. 295, p. 237.

²⁰ *DIR, seria C, Trans., veac XI-XIII*, vol. I (1075-1250), Bucureşti: Editura Academiei RSR, 1951, p. 63.

In addition to this, there is a mention referring to the abbot of the Monastery of St. Stephen the Protomartyr from the promontory of Oradea, in the Diocese of Oradea, who was allowed by Pope Innocent IV (1243-1254) “to serve in the priestly degrees received and rightfully remain at the head of the abbey of Saint Stephen’s Monastery,” despite the fact that he was “born from a priest and a wanton woman.”²¹

On 15 October 1337, Pope Benedict XII (1334-1342) wrote to the Bishop of Agria about some pseudo-monks from various orders, including a certain Stephanus, who, “without having been ordained in the priesthood, put on the habit of the Order of St. Benedict, as he well pleased,” and seized hold of four abbeys of the order in the Dioceses of Cenad, Kalocsa and Vác: Bulci (the present-day Buls, near Lipova), Bizere (disappeared, also there), Garap (disappeared, near Velika Kikinda) and Mongerod (disappeared, in Pest-Pilis County). “Often taking off his habit [...], he walks around like a layman, carrying deadly weapons and leading an altogether dissolute life.”²²

b. Adultery among the laity.

The first information regarding the involvement of the laity in such acts comes from the county of Cojocna, where the town magistrate of Cluj sentenced an adulteress to death. On 6 February 1430, Pope Martin V addressed himself to the Bishop of Transylvania, George Lépes, demanding that the latter should intervene and release the wife of Michael Koscher, Elizabeth Jacobi from Cluj, from prison: “ex carceribus, quibus suo marito propter adulterium denunciate a iudicibus secularis curie dicti oppidi mancipata et postea mortis damnata est.”²³

Since the husband had filed the complaint, that desperate appeal had most probably been made by the relatives of the woman caught in the act and sentenced to death. Unfortunately we do not have the slightest information about her partner and what happened to him. Actually, what is also not known is how the bishop solved the request, if he intervened in that case or whether the pontifical letter arrived too late or not.

The second case comes from the county of Alba and the incident involving adultery and murder happened in Aiud (1391). The characters implicated in this case were: Canon Iohannes, Helena, the wife of Iohannes, a resident of Aiud, Paulus Quinternistas, the lay familiar of the canon and the spouses, who has passed away in the meantime.²⁴

The third case, which involved an incestuous relation between a godmother and her godson was highlighted, again, by Pope Boniface IX. On 23 October 1400, he wrote to the Bishop of Transylvania about removing Antonius yclept Heczal from clerical revenues. Heczal was the rector of the parish church in Călnic and he had engaged in sexual relations with his godmother, Dorothea, the wife of Ioan Koncz from Călnic, even after they had been caught in the act at her home and after her husband had forgiven her infamous infidelity.²⁵

²¹ *DIR, seria C, Trans., veac XI-XIII*, vol. II (1251-1300), București: Editura Academiei RSR, 1952, doc. 6 of 22 November 1252, p. 6.

²² *DIR, seria C, Trans., veac XIV*, vol. III, doc. 348, p. 425.

²³ *Ub. Vol. IV*, doc. 2085, p. 397.

²⁴ *Monumenta Vaticana Hung.*, I/3, Budapest, 1889, doc. 200, p. 175.

²⁵ *Monumenta Vaticana Hung.*, I/4, Budapest, 1889, doc. 295, p. 237.

The fourth case also came from Aiud (Enyed) and involved adultery and the serious, death inflicting injury of a resident of this borough. The letter was written by the town magistrate and his judges and was addressed to the Vice-Voivodes of Transylvania, who also served as Comites of Alba. According to the document, in March 1467, the vice-voivodes were Iohannes Dénesi²⁶ of Illye (= Ilioara, near Reghin) and Ladislaus of Nádasd (Nădăștia, near Alba Iulia).²⁷ The magistrate of the borough was Iohannes Lewsch (*judex*), and the mentioned jurors were: Martinus the shoemaker (*Sutor*), Petrus of Curia and Andreas the tanner (*Pellifex*). They recounted how the widow of the late Oswald had been accused before them for acts of fornication (*fornicationis*) and injury causing bloodshed. The council unanimously decided to expel her from their midst. With the approval of the late Ioan Yazar, a respectable citizen of the borough, the woman had lived in his house. In order not to offend the good memory of the deceased, the magistrate had to remove her from that man's house, but not without scandal. Much to her public disgrace, they decided to drive her away at night and in secret, as she was deemed to be a harlot (*impudica*).²⁸

What is not known is who the "accomplices" were, who was wounded, the grounds of the lawsuit or the relations between the widow and the respectable citizen Yazar, who had consented to receive her in his home after she had been widowed. Could she have rendered "services" like a prostitute or did she have a conflict with one of her occasional lovers? Or did she have a secret relationship that degenerated into a conflict in the end? It is difficult to draw an irrefutable conclusion in this case, based solely on a rather incomplete "briefing note" issued by the notables of the borough. I have included this example here because given the fact that she lived in another man's house, she could not be a prostitute, since harlots exercised their profession in their own home, in a specific location or on the outskirts of the settlement. Although the magistrate accused her of fornication, the widow did not fall into the category of "classic" adulteresses precisely because she had been released from her husband by his death (see also the statements made by St. Paul).

Could one of the two vice-voivodes have known the two characters involved and, in this case, did the magistrate wish to inform his "hierarchical superior" of what had been decided and of the action undertaken in this respect? This may have been the case, because the magistrate and the judges passed and enforced the sentence, as the text reveals, by mutual agreement.

A fifth case, close to the space under discussion, which I will merely mention, occurred in the Dominican convent from Braşov in 1454, featuring the monk Iohannes Scharff and causing outrage throughout the entire region.²⁹

²⁶ According to the list compiled by Fr. Pall in *DIR, Introducere*, vol. I, Bucureşti: Editura Academiei RSR, 1956, p. 505.

²⁷ *Ub.*, vol. VI, doc. 3525, p. 280. These were familiars of Voivodes Iohannes Pongrácz of Dindeleg and Nicolaus Csupor of Monoszló (1468-1472).

²⁸ "Immo de facto bone memorie condam Johanii Yazar, tunc cohabitator noster, eandem de domo, quam ex ipsius condam Johannis annuentia inhabitabat exire debere commiserate omnibus modis. Sed ne in scandalum et dedecus suum manifestum publice eiceretur quasi nocte clandestine se e medio nostri transtulit et velut impudica deducta extitit," in *Ibidem*.

²⁹ *Ub.*, V, doc. 2942, pp. 471-472. Petrus, Vicar General of the Dominicans from Hungary, demanded that the fornicator should be tried by the ecclesiastical courts of the order, even though the secular arm

The sixth case involved the court of the Queen Mother Elizabeth, the widow of Charles Robert, who intervened with the pontiff in 1345 to obtain ecclesiastical benefices for Ladislaus, son of Andreas of Gubbio, the queen's personal physician (*dilecti psihici sui*), as Ladislaus, the physician's son, had been born illegitimate.³⁰

All these elements entitle us to claim that adultery was a social constant: although it was little emphasised in the official documents, it could give rise to violent reactions towards those exposed to public opprobrium in the local society, especially in the urban environment, as noted above.

Such cases will certainly have been much more numerous, for we know little to nothing about the rural world; however, forgetfulness, the lack of sources and clearer information give us just a glimpse of what must have happened in a society that sought outlets for a life full of moral norms that appear to have been complied with only at the level of appearances.

was also involved. From the document, it may be inferred that this was a huge scandal and that the brothers took initiative towards punishing the apostate monk.

³⁰ *DIR, C, Trans, veac XIV*, vol. IV, doc. 350, p. 258.

A SPECIAL EXHIBIT FROM BAIJA MARE DATED 1608, AN OCCASION FOR A CONCISE FRESCO OF THE TOWN AT THAT TIME

Abstract: The piece presented is a casting mould for unleavened bread, a massive and interesting wrought-iron piece made by the blacksmiths and engravers of Baia Mare.

The engravings of the two plates of the mould are described and explained. On the first one, there are engraved and richly decorated the Crucifixion and the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the New Testament. On the second plate, there are engraved the year 1608 and the crossed hammers – the symbol of mining.

The piece we are talking about is kept in the collections of the History and Archaeology Museum of Baia Mare. It is important due to the artistic value of the engravings, its date and the Christian message it has conveyed for more than four centuries.

Keywords: mould, unleavened bread, crafts, town, conflicts, museum

*

The item under consideration here is a mould for unleavened bread or host, dating back over 400 years and preserved in the collections of the History and Archaeology Museum of Baia Mare.

Sacramental wafer or host is the unleavened bread used in the ritual of communion and it represents, in a Christian and, in this case, in a Catholic sense, the body of Jesus and His sacrifice for the redemption of mankind's sins.

The artifact under discussion, the product of craftsmen-artists from Baia Mare, illustrates, at least in part, the spiritual and cultural life of this old town at the time. Given the circumstances in which it was made and used, the mould, dated 1608, also reflects, we believe, some political and social aspects of that time. We will try to discern these aspects because this item, which has the value of a historical document, gives us the opportunity, impelling us almost, to sketch a brief outline of the town of Baia Mare in and around the aforementioned year.

The mould and its destination

Through its less common shape and size, this object retains attention and even arouses curiosity, the first impression being that of an unusual pair of tongs (Fig.1). In fact, this was a mould used to bake sacramental wafer² – a loaf of unleavened dough that contained nothing but wheat flour and water. The shape of this product is flat and narrow, and the decoration and motifs that the mould imprinted convince us that this wafer was produced for important feast days.

¹ Museum curator, Director of the Satu Mare History Museum (1971-1975), Head of the History Department at the Maramureş County Museum, Baia Mare (1976-2002), e-mail: vioricaursu2010@yahoo.ro.

² Dorina Negulici, *Feronerie Braşoveană, sec. XV-XIX*, Braşov, 2003, pp. 72-76.

The piece, made of wrought iron, is massive, with a total length of 78 cm, and it consists of two rectangular plates, with the size of 21.5 x 13.5 cm. The plates, extended each with a grip handle that is 57 cm long, come together much like the arms of a pair of tongs. The handles are articulated with the help of a threaded rod with a bolt nut and a protruding handle, with beautiful arched ends allowing the necessary space for placing and pressing the dough and, respectively, for imprinting the decoration. It may be assumed that the two long handles ended with a sleeve made of wood (which has not been preserved), intended to protect the hands when the mould was held into the fire for the dough to bake.

Regarding its conservation status, the piece presents the traces of a long corrosion process, which has nonetheless been halted and whose effects have been removed by restoration and conservation in the laboratory of the History and Archaeology County Museum of Baia Mare.

Metal engraving with biblical representations

The faces of the plates are engraved (Fig.2), the composition of one of them defining the mould as one that was used for imprinting unleavened bread, specially prepared primarily for the Christian celebration of the Resurrection (Easter).³

The rich front decoration of the first plate consists of two successive plans, each inscribed within two concentric circles, of which the exterior ones are decorated with laurel leaves. Inside the circles are depicted scenes of the Crucifixion and, respectively, the Resurrection (Fig. 3). The highly stylised and very expressive figures are rendered with delicacy and piety by the engraver.

In the first scene, crucified Jesus is rendered schematically, as if what has been left, in the wake of suffering, is just an idea, the idea of supreme sacrifice, which he took upon Himself for the salvation of mankind. Moreover, Mary, the mother of Jesus, and John (the Apostle John) are on either side of the cross, on their knees, lamenting for Him. The scene expresses the heart-breaking suffering of the mother for her Son, the desire to alleviate His pain and, yet, her helplessness in the face of a great destiny. It expresses, at the same time, the sadness of a man who was near to and worshipped Jesus, His disciple, to whose care the Saviour entrusted His own mother, uttering from the cross: "Woman, behold your son!" (John 19:26). On the bar above the cross of Crucifixion: INPI, that is, the inscription ordered by Pontius Pilate: *Iezus Nazarenus Rex Iudaeorum* (P, probably, from the Greek alphabet, corresponding to the letter R in the Latin alphabet).

In the second plan, respectively, in the second scene, Jesus is depicted in motion, as if he were floating. A scarf that starts from the bust, slightly fluttering to His right, also suggests this soaring. In the left hand, He is holding a cross that is stylised, like the entire composition, with pole resting on the ground in front of the tomb and having a phylactery on top. The cover of the rectangular tomb is moved to the left to make room for the exit. What dominates the scene is the feeling of victory over death, over darkness, and the message conveyed is that of joy, of hope, of an uplifting spiritual experience.

³ Viorica Ursu, "Mesaj de Paște de acum patru veacuri," in *Graiul Maramureșului*, Baia Mare, year VIII, no. 1871, 13 April 1996.

The decoration of the wafer mould plate that we have just described is completed by two laurel twigs placed one under each circle. This, in turn, closes each of the two plans. There are also two small circles circumscribing a decorative motif in the shape of a Greek cross adorned with laurel leaves. The crosses adorned thus are placed between the two plans and complete the decoration of the mould's first plate. Everything is placed within a frame made of two engraved lines and having a rectangular shape, with bevelled corners. It is easy to see the difference between, on the one hand, the touching and convincing artistic composition of the engraving on the plate and, on the other hand, that of the decoration consisting of mathematically drawn circles and lines, adorned with naturally rendered leaves.

The craftsmen of the mould and the trades represented thereupon

The front of the second mould plate is engraved with a coat of arms, a shield enclosed within a frame of successively drawn lines, within which there are capital letters representing, of course, the initials of the names of people and, also, the figures of the year in which the mould was made: M G A(nno) 1608 (Figure 4). This year has, perhaps, a significance that we will try to grasp intuitively. In the next row, the initials I M circumscribe two crossed hammers – a mining symbol. Underneath them are the last initials: P E.

It is difficult to reconstruct the names of the persons represented through these initials. We may assume that the first initials belonged to a local church official, who will have commissioned the piece. The following, however, could be, we believe, the initials of the blacksmith who executed the mould, while those in the third row belonged to the master engraver (the artist, we might say) to whom the composition belonged. The engraver, who turns out to have been so refined in depicting the characters, also mastered technical drawing, using the compasses and the ruler in achieving the circles and the lines that decorate the plates of the mould.

A few words about the crafts of Baia Mare illustrated by the mould of 1608 are, perhaps, necessary. Because the unleavened wafers – unlike the host commonly prepared in the priest's house – were kneaded and baked by the bakers or bread-makers, these craftsmen were always respected in town and were often part of its leadership.⁴ As for the blacksmiths in Baia Mare, whose guild was the oldest here, we know that they produced a wide variety of object, but mainly tools, including those required by other trades, hence, also scissors and tongs, which the piece under consideration in this study resembled.⁵ About the engravers from Baia Mare, we should say that they were part of the monetary craftsmen employed by the mint; together with the coins modellers and the founders, they made moulds of brass or iron.⁶ Their work involved not only skill, but art. (Thus, the gold medal struck in the mint from Baia Mare, eight years before, in 1600, in honour of Michael the Brave,

⁴ Ștefan Pascu, *Meșteșugurile în Transilvania până în sec. al XVI-lea*, București, 1954, p. 106; Gheorghe Csoma „...Suprema tărie a orașului.” *Istoria orașului Baia Mare de la începuturi până la unirea din 1918*, Baia Mare, 1999, p. 137.

⁵ *Monografia municipiului Baia Mare* (hereinafter, *Monografia Baia Mare*), 1973, vol. I, p. 167.

⁶ Ioan Sabău, “Monetăria din Baia Mare în secolele XV-XVII,” in *Marmația*, 3, Baia Mare, 1978, p. 64.

had been the work of artisans like these).⁷ One of them will have engraved the plates of the mould we are examining here, for the stylisation of the figures on the plate of the mould is similar to that of the coins minted in town during those years.

Baia Mare in 1608

The year engraved by the authors of the mould on one of the plates – which enhances its historical and museum value – enables us to conclude that no less four centuries separate us from those artists-craftsmen and the time in which they lived and celebrated the “Lord’s Resurrection”! Much to people, not so much for the history of the town of Baia Mare. We believe it necessary to devote the following few lines to this subject because the object under analysis bears, besides the figures of the year 1608, the symbol of mining. We have no doubt, therefore, that the mould was made and used in Baia Mare and that this item has been preserved here, throughout all these four centuries.

The town, which used to call itself (still) also “Rivulus Dominarum,” using the little seal since the year 1483, had its important place in the history of the autonomous Principality of Transylvania.⁸ It was, at that time too, in 1608, a free town, independent of the county administration and of the nobles. It was led by a magistrate, headed by the mayor judge, and had a separate administration from that of the “Chamber” (the administration of the revenue authority’s property).⁹ It had maintained the old rights of trial since the 14th century, which provided, for crimes considered serious at that time, some of the most terrible punishments. The town received several privileges, conferred to it successively and completed throughout time, some dating from a period close to the one we are focusing on – 1608, these privileges having been granted or extended by the Princes of Transylvania.¹⁰

In spring 1608, the throne of the Principality was occupied by Gabriel Bathory (until 1613). This prince, who was well-nigh tolerant in religious matters, but was sufficiently challenged in history because of his lack of tact in foreign policy,¹¹ was aware of and interested in the revenue that the town of Baia Mare could bring him. Thus, he added it new facilities and exemptions, supporting the activity of mining here and of the mint that became, thus, the most important in Transylvania.¹²

⁷ Ștefan D. Tănăsescu, “Despre medalia lui Mihai Viteazul,” in *Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române*, XVII-XIX, București, 1975, p. 242.

⁸ Ioan Nemeti, “Scurt istoric al sigiliului orașului Baia Mare,” in *Marmația*, I/1967, p. 20; Viorica Ursu, “Centenarul unei descoperiri deosebite la Baia Mare” (the town seal, silver print, 14th century), in *Graiul Maramureșului*, no. 4460, Baia Mare, 27-28 November 2004.

⁹ *Monografia Baia Mare*, p. 205.

¹⁰ In 1605, by Șt. Bocskay (1604-1606), in 1607 by Sigismund Rakóczy (1607-1608), in 1609 and 1612 by Gabriel Báthory.

¹¹ He was considered “cruel and reckless” (in fact, he was the grandson of the terrifying Bathory Erzsébeth, albeit he was unrelated to the murders that she was associated with). The Saxons, above all, judged him harshly, but he had made plenty of enemies. For other considerations about this much too ambitious prince, see M. Diaconescu, “Din istoria Maramureșului în timpul principelui Gabriel Bathory,” in *Satu Mare-Studii și Comunicări*, XV-XVI, 1998-1999.

¹² Sabău, *op. cit.*, pp. 60 and 65; Eugen Chirilă, Octavian Bandula, *Tezaurul monetar de la Baia Mare*, Baia Mare, 1966, p. 106.

The town was recovering after difficult years, marked by the harsh Austrian rule, by wars and conflicts. Its economy experienced, however, a gradual revival, particularly as a consequence of increased production of precious metals. In this sense, the revenue authority owned the most important mine in the city, the one from Dealul Crucii, and an estate that included the villages around Baia Mare. Also, as regards the mint, it worked intensely, producing, during the period of Gabriel Bathory's principality, very expensive coins – gold ducats and silver thalers.¹³ The increase in handicraft production and its growing diversity during these years, as well as throughout the 17th century, was notable and the craftsmanship of the artisans from Baia Mare is also attested by the piece we are dealing with in the present study. Among the craftsmen, those who were rich and influential in town were: the goldsmiths and the silversmiths, who also marked with crossed hammers their works and who were famous far into Europe; the butchers, the tailors, the coopers, the potters, the furriers, the carpenters etc., all of them having ancient and powerful guilds.¹⁴ The town's economy also relied on agriculture, especially on the production and sale of wine, and in 1606, the town's brewery also started contributing with taxes.¹⁵ This whole state of affairs was reflected in the trade. The weekly market was held in Circulus Fori. The central area of the town and of the fortress was one of the sectors in which the town had been divided four years earlier (in 1604), regarding the census levy.¹⁶

As for the constructions, we should first mention that the town actually had the appearance of a fortress – it was surrounded by walls, featuring four gateways and guarded by towers. Inside the fortifications, around the already mentioned central area, there were buildings from the previous centuries or erected just during the period we have talked about (the beginning of the 17th century), partially changed at a later time, but preserved until today. The most important building was the St. Stephen's Church, built almost two centuries earlier, with its symbolic tower, one century younger than it. The church was Catholic until about 1588, when it became Protestant, Calvinist – as did most of the townspeople – and when all its statues and pictures were removed, as unacceptable by the new religion.¹⁷ Being constantly disputed by the two religious denominations, which were then involved in a bitter conflict, the imposing building was to pass from one hand to another five more times before the occupation of Transylvania by the Habsburg Empire, in 1685. (In the next century, the Austrian authorities changed the confessional rapport in town, Catholicism regaining much of the ground it had lost in Baia Mare).¹⁸

¹³ Sabău, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

¹⁴ Viorica Ursu, "Capodopere ale breslei olarilor din Baia Mare," in *Marmația*, 5-6, Baia Mare, 1979, p. 194; Csoma, *op. cit.* p. 127 and passim; Viorica Ursu, "Meșteșug și artă la Baia Mare - tradiții seculare," in *Graiul Maramureșului*, year no. 2318, Baia Mare, 22-23 November 1997.

¹⁵ *Monografia Baia Mare*, pp. 294-295 and 304.

¹⁶ *Idem*, pp. 227, 228.

¹⁷ Csoma, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

¹⁸ The Catholics will managed to build in Baia Mare, between 1718-1720, the beautiful cathedral "The Holy Trinity," but this happened about 160 years after the Reformation had been imposed.

The general note of relative economic prosperity in the town of Baia Mare, which emerges from the data concerning the year 1608 and its proximate years as well, is supported by the accumulation of the gold treasure discovered here in 1965.¹⁹ The 987 pieces it contains date precisely from the years 1604-1614, and 209 of these are the gold ducats issued by the aforementioned Prince Gabriel Bathory in 1608.²⁰ The treasure may not have been the only treasure collected by a townsman. Its burial and, perhaps, the hiding of other such treasures denote the uncertainty of the times, the far too many ordeals Baia Mare and its surroundings went through, in the early years of 17th century. But let us focus a little on this aspect of the town's life.

Baia Mare had felt the full brunt of the rivalry between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Empire for dominance in the Principality, the conflicts having just been waged in the context of the anti-Ottoman "Long War" (13 years), begun by Michael the Brave and continued even after his death, until 1606, under the banner of the "Christian League."²¹ It overlapped with the religious conflict between the supporters of the Reformation, situated in the anti-Habsburg camp and under the influence of the Porte, on the one hand, and the Catholics, who had lost their supremacy in Transylvania over fifty years before and were supporting now the Counter-Reformation waged by the Habsburgs. Baia Mare barely escaped, with many sacrifices, from Austrian occupation and the abuses committed by General Basta, who had established his dominion over Maramureş and Sătmar. The rebellion of 1604-1605, led by the Protestant nobleman Şt. BacsKay, who had become prince (1604-1606), also provoked violence, abuses and inherent destruction, afflicting not only the besieged town of Baia Mare, but also, like in so many other occasions, the surrounding villages. This was the context in which the well-known Habra Monastery "above Baia Mare," near Groşi, was destroyed.²²

In 1608 – the year engraved on the plate of the mould we are analysing here – the brief reconciliation between the Calvinist and the imperial princes was only two years long (since 1606), having allowed the spirits that had been incensed for half a century to cool down. Thus, under a Catholic prince this time, Gabriel Bathory, just installed at the helm of Transylvania in March 1608, on the eve of the great Christian holiday of Easter, there could be imprinted and distribute here, in Baia Mare, the insignia of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection – a true iconography that was, however, not admitted by the Reformed denomination. We believe that this special support – an easily acceptable product, unleavened bread – was chosen to "disseminate" a message of joy, that of the feast of the Resurrection. It was also envisaged to meet the need or the obstructed practice, like the Catholic processions, to present in images, in a unique manner, and to spread unto remembrance, Christian scenes evoked by the engravings of the mould and imprinted, with its help, in many copies. Perhaps this great celebration was honoured by the presence here of a

¹⁹ Chirilă, Bandula, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

²¹ *Istoria Românilor*, vol. IV, Bucureşti, 2001, p. 593 and *passim*.

²² Viorica Ursu, "În legătură cu memoriul din 1614 adresat autorităţilor imperiale austriece de românii din ţinutul Baia Mare, Chioar şi Sătmar," in *Marmaţia*, 5-6, Baia Mare, 1980, pp. 185-193.

Catholic prelate and this occasioned the “making” of the unleavened bread, so beautifully decorated, of a larger size and in a special format, compared to the host, as was common at Communion. Perhaps the installation of a Catholic prince on the throne of Transylvania was felt and hailed as a much desired “unchaining” for the Catholics in Baia Mare. This seems to be the explanation of the mould produced precisely at Easter in the year 1608.

*

This outstanding artifact – the mould from Baia Mare, dated 1608 – which we have tried to make speak about itself, about Baia Mare, about the realities of the town during that period and about those times – thus proves to be a surprisingly complex piece, of wider historical interest than it might seem at first glance. Of course, its first significance is related to an important religious practice.

We should also note its importance for the museum, as the mould under discussion has been selected for several history exhibitions:

- The exhibition “Crafts of Baia Mare,” organised at the Butchers’ Tower in 1983, one of the exhibitions hosted by this monument after its museal rehabilitation and valorisation in the years 1980-1981.²³

- The exhibition “Peri Monastery – 600,” with old objects of worship and religious books (the first of its kind in Baia Mare), occasioned by the anniversary of 600 years since the attestation of the old monastery from Peri-Maramureș as a stauropegic monastery of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, an exhibition organised by the County Museum of Baia Mare in 1991.²⁴

- The inter-museal exhibition “Transylvanian Guilds (the 14th-19th centuries),” organised by the history museums in Tg. Mureș, Cluj-Napoca, Baia Mare, Bistrița, Zalău and itinerated in those cities in 1997 and 1998.

²³ Viorica Ursu, “Valorificarea muzeală a unui monument istoric băimărean,” in *Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor*, Seria *Monumente istorice*, București, 1981, pp. 76-77; Viorica Ursu, Lucia Pop, “Manifestări științifice și culturale organizate de Muzeul de Istorie și Arheologie din Baia Mare în perioada 1980-2000,” in *Marmația* 7/2, Baia Mare, 2002, p. 29.

²⁴ Viorica Ursu, “Șase secole de atestare documentară a Mănăstirea ‘Sf. Mihail’ din Peri-Maramureș,” in *Marmația*, 7/2, p. 231; the locality of Peri (Grușevo), today, in the Maramureș from across the Tisza, in the Transcarpathian Ukraine.

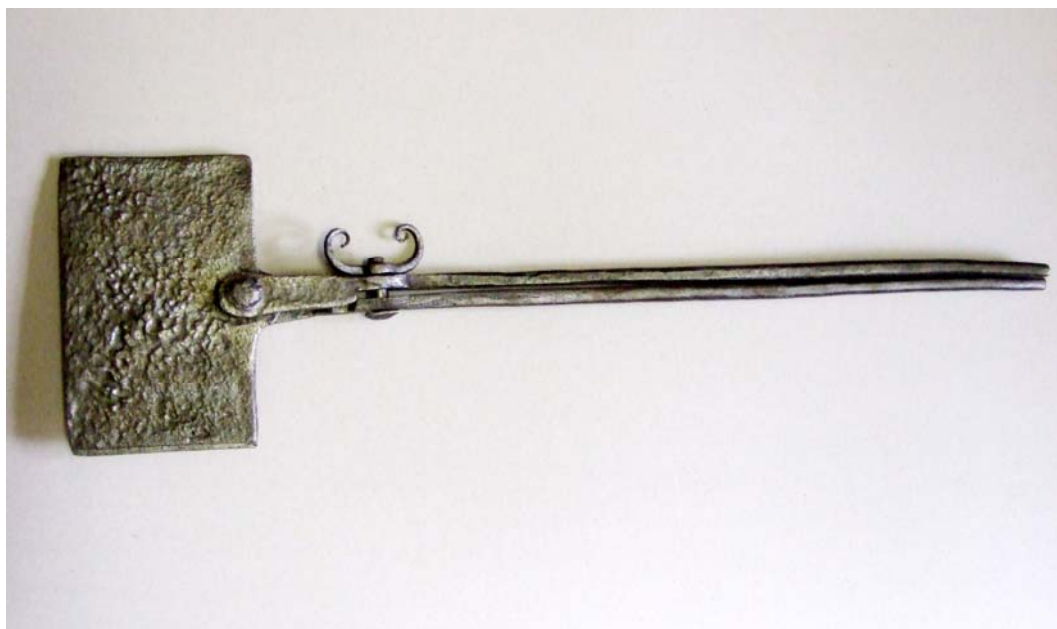


Fig.1



Fig.2

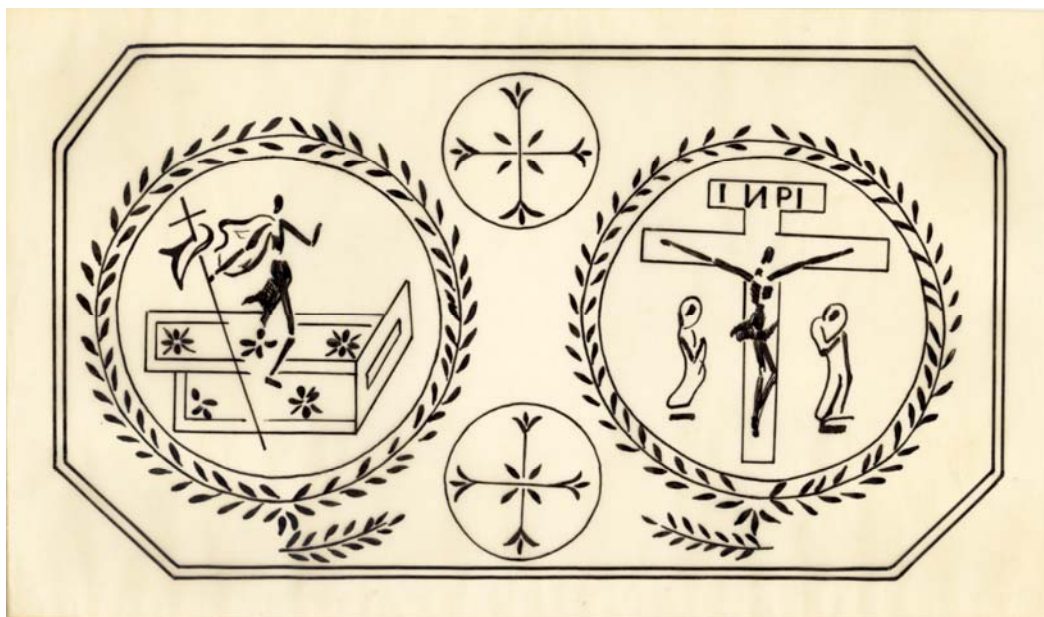


Fig.3



Fig.4

HOMESICKNESS BETWEEN AILMENT AND POETRY: THE ROMANIAN SOLDIERS IN THE HABSBURG ARMY

Abstract: This article approaches an issue situated at the crossroads between the history of medicine, military and folklore history, namely homesickness as an ailment (known as *nostalgia* at that time) and its reflection in the medical literature and the folklore creations that described the spiritual sufferings to which the Romanian soldiers in the army of the Habsburg Empire were exposed because of the rather harsh conditions of military service in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Keywords: Romanian soldiers, Habsburg, ailment, homesickness, soldiers' song

*

Throughout time, a relatively large number of studies have been dedicated to the Officers Corps of the Habsburg Army by various specialists, in particular by Austrian and German scholars; by contrast, few studies have focused on the soldiers of the same army and barely anything has been written about the Romanian soldiers. Besides more general works or specialised studies on the Romanian border regiments, which had a specific organisation, different from that of the other regiments, very little has been written about the Romanian soldiers from the frontline regiments.² In this short article, we intend to address one of the numerous aspects of the Romanian soldiers' life in the Habsburg Army, an aspect that has been completely ignored in Romanian historiography. More specifically, our study approaches an ailment that was much discussed and written about in the previous centuries, the disease of homesickness, as it was perceived and described by various Austrian physicians.

As a disease, homesickness (called *nostalgia*) has been known since the late 17th century,³ when it was first described by the Swiss physician Johannes Hofer, in his small treatise entitled *Dissertatio medica De Nostalgia oder Heimwehe*, written in 1688, while he was studying medicine at Basel. According to him, this ailment particularly afflicted the Swiss mercenary soldiers employed in the European armies.⁴

¹ Librarian, PhD, Romanian Academy Library, Cluj-Napoca, email: eugeniabirlea@gmail.com

² The few exceptions refer, in general, to the period 1848-1918. An example, in this regard, is Liviu Maior's book *Românii în armata habsburgică. Soldați și ofițeri uitați*, București: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004.

³ However, the notion of homesickness had already been known and talked about at least 100 years before, its first mention dating from 1569, as Simon Bunke shows in his monumental work dedicated to, *Heimweh. Studien zur Kultur-und Literaturgeschichte einer tödlichen Krankheit*, Freiburg i. Br., Berlin, Wien: Rombach Verlag, 2009, p. 35.

⁴ For the Swiss, mercenary service was one of their main sources of income, and for those in the poorer areas, it was the sole means of subsistence. Between the 14th century and the beginning of the 19th century, troops of Swiss mercenaries could be encountered on all the battlefields of Europe, sometimes

Hence, it was also called the Swiss disease or the disease of the Swiss (*schweizerische Krankheit*). For a long time, up until the mid-19th century, this malady was a central concern of the military doctors, the senior officers and the supreme commanders of various armies. More rarely, this illness also loomed over the youth who were away from home, studying in diverse academic centres. Towards the end of the 18th century, *nostalgia*⁵ was already recognised in all the armies of Europe, the French military physician Louis Jaques Bégin (1793-1859) referring to it as a “triste attribut de la profession des armées.”⁶

During the first three decades of the 18th century, Hofer's study was reprinted and triggered the publication of further works, leading to a gradual, albeit slow growth of scientific interest in this topic, a period when the initial medical discourse was enriched.⁷ The climax, however, was coeval with the end of the Enlightenment century and the first decades of the next, when there was published the largest number of books and articles in lexicographical collections.⁸ After 1850, the subject's importance declined to the level of a symptom of other diseases, such as epilepsy, melancholy (endogenous depression),⁹ etc. On the cusp between the 19th and the 20th

fighting on both sides. The apogee was reached in the 15th-16th centuries, when they were considered effective and loyal. The Pope's Swiss Guard has been in existence since the year 1506.

⁵ In French it is known as *mal du pays*, the English equivalent is *homesickness*, in Italian the word is *nostalgia*, etc.

⁶ Apud Klaus Brunnert, *Nostalgie in der Geschichte der Medizin*, Düsseldorf: Triltsch, 1984, p. 7.

⁷ Johann Jacob Schleuchzer, “Von dem Heimwehe,” in *Seltsamer Naturgeschichten des Schweitzer-Land Wöchentliche Erzählung*, no. 15/16, 20/27 May 1705, subsequently re-published in a volume (1706); Theodor Zwinger (ed.), “Dissertatio medica de Pothopatridalgia. Vom Heim-Wehe,” in *Fasciculus dissertationum medicarum selectarum* [...], Basel, 1710, pp. 87-111; Johannes Hoher, *Dissertatio curioso-medica, De Nostalgia, vulgo: Heimwehe oder Heimsehnucht* [...], Basel, 1745.

⁸ We shall present a brief list of selected titles: Albrecht von Haller, the entry “Nostalgie,” in *Supplément a l'Encyclopédie* [...], vol. 4, Amsterdam, 1777; Percy/Laurent, the entry “Nostalgie,” in *Dictionnaire des sciences medicales*, Paris, 1819, vol. 36, pp. 265-291; C. Castelnau, *Considérations sur la nostalgie*, Paris 1806; the article “Heimwehe,” in *Medicinisches Hand-Lexicon, worinn alle Krankheiten, die verschiedenen, und jeder Krankheit insbesondere eigenthümlichen Kennzeichen* [...] auf eine jedermann faßliche Art vorgetragen werden, vol. 1, Augsburg, 1782, p. 488; Carl August Diez, the entry “Heimweh,” in *Deutsche Encyclopädie oder Allgemeinen Real-Wörterbuch aller Künste und Wissenschaften* [...], vol. 15, Frankfurt/Main, 1790, p. 104; Robert Hooper, the entry “Nostalgia,” in *A Compendious Medical Dictionary* [...], London, 1799; Joseph Zangerl, *Über das Heimweh*, Wien 1820 (re-published in 1840 under the title *Das Heimweh*); Julius Heinrich Schlegel, *Das Heimweh und ser Selbstmord*, Hildburghausen, 1835.

⁹ Over the past few decades, this disease has reawakened the researchers' interest, in the context of the mental health disorders that sometimes afflicted the immigrants (Italian, Turkish, etc.) and the refugees who had settled in various western countries and in America after World War II. See Klaus Brunnert, *op. cit.*; Shirley Fisher, *Homesickness, Cognition and Health*, Bern [s.a.], Huber, 1991; André Bolzinger, *Histoire de la nostalgie*, Paris, Compagne Première, 2006; Helmut Illbruck, *Origins and Ends of an Unenlightened Disease*, Evanston, Ill., Northwestern Univ. Press, 2012; Simon Bunke, *op. cit.* etc. There are, however, few studies that seek to clarify, from the vantage of present-day psychiatry, which type of depression the symptoms described by physicians of previous centuries belong to. The very name of the disease seemed inappropriate to researchers in the 20th century; in its last decades, they spoke of the “nostalgic syndrome” or “nostalgic reactions.” See Charles Zwingmann, “Die Heimwehrektion alias ‘potopatridalgia’,” in *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Neurologie und Psychiatrie*, 201, 1961, pp. 445-464.

centuries, it was no longer related with soldiers, but with certain young maids, who suffered from homesickness and because of this, it was alleged, felt impelled to commit serious crimes, burning down houses and murdering the infants in their care.¹⁰ On the eve of World War I, there were still references to homesickness, especially in the statistics on suicides committed among the military, where it appeared listed as just another cause among others,¹¹ but was no longer spoken about as a disease in itself.

Johannes Hofer legitimised both disease and its name; in addition to the popular term, *Heimweh*, Hofer also created a specialised term for the new disease: *nostalgia*, from the Greek words *nostos*, the return home, and *algos*, pain.¹² In his short treatise, Hofer explained the homesickness malady as the effect of a diseased imagination, which, unless it was quickly cured, could lead to the subject's death.¹³ In 1710, Theodor Zwinger re-edited Hofer's text, along with other medical documents, and added to it a new chapter about the song of the Swiss cowherds from the Appenzell region, entitled *Kuhreihen* or *Ranz de vaches*,¹⁴ a song responsible for triggering homesickness among the Swiss mercenaries in France and the Netherlands.¹⁵ An important role in popularising the impact of this song in causing this disease was played by J. J. Rousseau, who also mentioned the banning of the song by the French military authorities.¹⁶ At a later time, Kant and Goethe made short references to this disease and to the prohibition of the song.¹⁷

To have a clearer picture of this disease, we will briefly refer to a later writing, authored by Joseph Zangerl,¹⁸ "a classic of the literature on homesickness."¹⁹ The author was a physician in Vienna, but was a native of Tyrol, a region where homesickness was a common disease, too. As he was not a military doctor, he quoted frequently, in his references to sick soldiers, the book on military medicine written by

¹⁰ The German philosopher and psychiatrist Karl Jaspers wrote his PhD Thesis on offences committed because of homesickness, *Heimweh und Verbrechen*, Heidelberg, 1909.

¹¹ Ernst Sträubler, "Über Selbstmorde und Selbstmordversuche beim Militär," in *Militärmedizin und ärztliche Kriegswissenschaft. Vorträge, gehalten in der Abteilung XXX "Militärsanitätswesen" auf der 85. Versammlung deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte in Wien in der Zeit vom 21. bis 28. September 1913*, ed. Zdislaus Juchnowicz-Hordyński, Erhard Glaser, Wien und Leipzig: Verlag von Josef Šafář, 1914, pp. 437-455.

¹² Bunke, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹³ *Ibidem*, pp. 30-30.

¹⁴ This is a song of the cowherds, sung or played on a special horn, through which they summoned, steered or collected animals on the alpine grasslands. The text has a secondary role, as the melody represents the main element.

¹⁵ Bunke, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-255.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 266-274.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 96.

¹⁸ Joseph Zangerl, *Das Heimweh*, Wien, 1820. We have consulted the 1840 edition, also published in Vienna.

¹⁹ Christian Bachhiesl, *Zwischen Indizien paradigma und Pseudowissenschaft; wissenschaftshistorische Überlegungen zum epistemischen Status kriminalwissenschaftlicher Forschung*, Wien [u.a.]: Lit-Verl., 2012, p. 377.

the chief surgeon of Napoleon's army, who accompanied the army in all of the French emperor's campaigns.²⁰

Zangerl considered that homesickness was a disease of the nerves, which resembled melancholy (he saw it as a form of melancholy, in fact), but differed from it through the object of the sad passion (the subject's fervent longing for his native place), through its higher frequency and its destructive influence on health.²¹ Diagnosing the disease was far from easy, as it could be triggered by somatic or psychological causes. A first sign of the disease was - albeit not necessarily - sleepwalking, from which apparently healthy people began to suffer. During the first phase of the disease, they constantly talked about their native places and began to seek solitude in order to dwell even more on images from back home, all the other activities becoming indifferent to them. In the second phase, their bodies began to feel the consequences of spiritual suffering: their gaze became sad, their faces turned pale, appetite failed and digestion was perturbed, the pulse weakened and the patients acquired a cachectic appearance. In the last phase, a state of fever, accompanied by diarrhoea, set in, bodily powers were exhausted, the patients experienced dropsy, indifference and disgust with life, and the hapless made their exeunt from the sad stage of life, thinking of home until their last breath.²²

The author states that recruits succumbed to the disease if they were sent to regiments where there was no one to talk to in their language and, especially, if during the first few weeks they received brutal treatment while training, as it happened so often in the past.²³ There were, however, types of people prone to this disease, such as, for instance, those who were introverted. In addition to this, there were other sad circumstances that could trigger the same dreaded disease: severe illnesses that healed slowly (particularly if the patient was not treated with compassion), depressing feelings, digestive disorders, lung or heart diseases, boredom and monotony.²⁴ Zangerl ventured to assert that the disease was contagious²⁵ and he recounted the story of the prohibition (on penalty of death) placed on the Swiss shepherd song *Kuhreihen/ranz de vaches* in the armies where the Swiss were enrolled. Incidentally, the songs from back home had the effect of lightning strikes for all the peoples.²⁶ Another example would be the Scottish bagpipe song that had the same effect as the *Kuhreihen* on the Swiss.²⁷ This doctor nuanced the opinion of his predecessors, according to whom only the residents of mountainous areas were affected by the disease. In his view, residents from the plains could also get sick if they moved into the mountains or just a few hours away from their native places,

²⁰ Dominique Jean Larey, *Mémoires de chirurgie militaire, et campagnes*, Paris: J. Smith, 1812 (4 vol.), a work that was also translated into German.

²¹ Zangerl, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

²² *Ibidem*, pp. 5-10.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 31.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 33.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 36.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 40.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 59.

even within the same country.²⁸ Love for one's homeland is characteristic of all the European and the non-European peoples, which means that homesickness is as old a disease as mankind itself.²⁹ Not only the Swiss, but those in Tirol, too, suffered just as much, for they led a very similar life to that of the Swiss,³⁰ as did the residents of other Austrian provinces, such as Styria and Carinthia.³¹ So, too, did the Englishmen, the Irishmen or even the Lapps.³² As for the recruits from the remote Russian provinces, the author stated that half of them perished from the disease before they could even reach the unit to which they had been sent.³³

The return home, as the surest cure, still represents one of the commonplaces in specialised studies. Although the disease could last several months or even up to a year, in some cases it could have a happy ending only with the promise of the return home.³⁴ If there was no possibility for the patient being sent home, the progress of the disease was negative: in many cases a latent fever broke out, bringing the sick man down. Those who were in hospitals, prisons, fortresses under siege or military camps and who could not be sent home became, with few exceptions, victims of death.³⁵ If the sick man could not be sent home, the physician had to resort to a spiritual therapy, which the author called "psychic": first, the doctor had to endeavour to gain the patient's trust and love and then, gradually, through persuasive talks, he had to steer the sick man's thoughts elsewhere, giving examples of individuals who had gained fame, dignity or wealth abroad. If the desired goal could not be reached in this way, the patient would have to be assured that the return home was certain and impending. Zangerl cited the case of several French soldiers who had suffered from homesickness during the siege of Mainz³⁶ (1814) and who had been healed solely because the physicians had given them the illusion that the enemy would allow them to go home.³⁷

In our attempt to explain the circumstances leading to this disease, we will outline the conditions under which the ordinary soldiers' military service was carried out in the Habsburg Army, focusing especially on the reign of Maria Theresa and the 1848 Revolution.

Charles VI (1711-1740) had neglected the army, which had become understaffed, meagrely paid, with supply services that malfunctioned during the

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 38.

²⁹ A famous example is that of Alexander the Great's Macedonian soldiers, who refused to go beyond the Indian River Beas as they were tired of warfare and gripped by homesickness. See J. M. O'Brien, *Alexander the Great: The Invisible Enemy. A Biography*, London-New York: Routledge, 1994, pp. 158-164.

³⁰ Zangerl, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 57.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 59.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 66.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 70.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 80.

³⁶ Conquered and held by the French between 1797 and 1814, the fortress of Mainz was besieged by Russian and German troops (3 January- 4 May 1814). The French troops withstood the siege and surrendered only after Napoleon's defeat in 1814.

³⁷ Zangerl, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-88.

campaigns, so at the time of the wars from the early decades of the 18th century, the soldiers and the officers starved and were poorly dressed and armed, the regiments being decimated by diseases and defections. Upon taking the throne, the empress found a corps of officers in which only half came from the provinces of the Empire, the rest being foreign; the ethnic composition of the soldiers was even more variegated.³⁸ Because of the many wars she had been forced to wage, Maria Theresa had to envisage profound changes as regards the recruitment manner, the organisation and endowment of her army. Up until then, the recruitment of the Austrians soldiers had been, in general, based on the voluntary participation of their own subjects and those of the neighbouring countries, who were paid for military service. Besides the volunteer soldiers, the authorities also sent in the army, as punishment, a series of youth categories: those who had mutilated themselves to escape recruitment, the politically undesirable, those who had committed lesser offences, participants in riots³⁹ and former outlaws.⁴⁰ In Hungary and Transylvania, the nobles were under the obligation to defend the country until 1741, when the empress demanded them to recruit permanent regiments. Since Austria was almost constantly engaged in military conflicts between 1740 and 1815, it began to demand the recruitment of more and more troops from Transylvania as well. In addition to the lengthy campaigns, diseases and epidemics also caused high losses to the army; so did defections, the 18th century being known in the historiography of recent years as the “century of defections.”⁴¹ The official requests for new recruits multiplied, but the voluntary recruitment system yielded unsatisfactory results, as the army failed to have a sufficient number of soldiers even during the peace years. Besides the high costs it incurred, recruitment in the Roman Empire of the German nation and in other countries could rally the participation of dubious elements that would desert shortly thereafter. Another problem was recruitment by trickery and violence.⁴² Young men were usually lured with alcohol and loose women, by the next day finding themselves as soldiers under the oath of allegiance. The officers who carried out the recruitment enjoyed a certain leeway, which some abused: they would appropriate the money destined for recruitment and were not averse to using violent means, because there were never

³⁸ Gustav von Hubka, *Geschichte des k. und k. Infanterie Regiments Graf von Lacy Nr. 22 von seiner Errichtung bis zur Gegenwart*, Zara: Verlag des Regiments, 1902, pp. 41- 60.

³⁹ In 1754, 40 inhabitants from Târgu Mureş and Mezötúr who had participated in the riots were sent as soldiers in the infantry regiment that would subsequently wear the number 51 and that recruited its troops from Transylvania (Cluj and Sibiu were its recruitment centres). See Maximilian Maendl, *Gechichte des k. und k. Infanterie-Regiments nr. 51*, Klausenburg, 1897, vol. I, p. 206.

⁴⁰ Nicolae Stoica of Hăţeg recounts with unequalled charm how he convinced a group of dangerous outlaws in the Banat Mountains to surrender and join the ranks of the army, taking advantage of the amnesty granted by Maria Theresa. See *Cronica Banatului*, ed. de Damaschin Mioc, Timişoara: Editura Facla, 1981, pp. 220-225.

⁴¹ Michael Sikora, “Das 18. Jahrhundert: Das Zeit der Deserteure,” in Ulrich Bröckling, Michael Sikora (eds.), *Armeen und ihre Deserteure. Vernachlässigte Kapitel einer Militärgeschichte der Neuzeit*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck et Ruprecht, 1998, pp. 86-111.

⁴² Things were similar in all the armies of the time. Voltaire’s work *Candide*, published in 1759, describes such a scam, whereby Candide was forced to join the Prussian army.

enough peasants who desired, in exchange for money, to leave for the battlefields in Spain or France.⁴³

After the model of Prussia, Maria Theresa sought to recruit her army from the Austrian provinces, but in order to have enough soldiers, she had to introduce the military conscription system (1771-1880), albeit not in all the provinces. Hungary and Transylvania were among the countries which managed to introduce conscription only with great difficulty and very late. As of that moment, the regiments had clearly defined territories whence they recruited and supplemented their troops. The military conscription system was based on the principle of every citizen's duty to defend his homeland. However, besides the fact that conscripts could redeem themselves by paying a considerable sum or by finding a replacement, many categories were exempted: nobles, priests, officials and their sons, certain categories of peasants who owned a certain tract of land or were the only sons of elderly parents, mine workers, craftsmen, etc.⁴⁴ Men aged between 17-18 and 40 years were recruited, military service was for life, and only foreigners, who were not subject to conscription, could be hired for a certain period stipulated in the contract concluded between the parties.⁴⁵ In Hungary (and Transylvania), the free recruitment system yielded poor results because the number of categories exempt from military service was even higher, all sorts of vagrants and dubious characters being often recruited. In the period 1802-1811, military service for life was abrogated, being limited to 10-14 years for those subject to conscription, but in Hungary this beneficial change occurred only in 1828.⁴⁶ On the eve of the revolution, military service was reduced to 8 years in the German provinces in 1845.⁴⁷ Conscription by lot-casting and the eight-year military service were first introduced in Transylvania in 1847.⁴⁸ The standardisation of this practice took place only in 1852, when the eight-year military service plus two years in reserve forces became universally enforced.⁴⁹

What was striking, therefore, was the length of military service. Throughout the 18th century (and up until 1828 in Hungary and Transylvania), recruits remained in the army service until they died in battle or became invalids, reasons enough to cast any soul down.

If we refer then to the soldiers' life, it was not serene and carefree, quite the contrary. Let us summarise a few pages written about the soldiers' condition by a former Austrian officer, Daniel Fenner von Fenneberg,⁵⁰ in a work imparting a

⁴³ Hubka, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁴⁴ Alphons von Wrede, *Geschichte der K. und K. Wehrmacht. Die Regimenter, Corps, Branchen und Anstalten von 1618 bis Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Wien: Verlag von L. V. Seidel und Sohn, 1898, vol. I, p. 101.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 102.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 103.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 107.

⁴⁸ George Bariț, *Părți alese din istoria Transilvaniei pe două sute de ani în urmă*, second ed., Brașov: Inspectoratul pentru cultură al județului Brașov, 1993, vol. I, pp. 766-767.

⁴⁹ Jürgen Angelow, *Von Wien nach Königgrätz. Die Sicherheitspolitik des Deutschen Bundes im europäischen Gleichgewicht (1815 - 1866)*, München: Oldenbourg, 1996, p. 67.

⁵⁰ Daniel Fenner von Fenneberg, *Österreich und seine Armee*, Leipzig, 1847.

critical vision, but also evincing the author's sympathy for the soldiers. He believed that the soldiers' fate resembled the life of Helots in Sparta, because soldiers were never right; there was a deep chasm between the officers and the soldiers, the former carefully avoiding any contact with the troops. There were very few officers who came from among the troops, even though, theoretically, every worthy soldier had this chance.⁵¹

A major problem affecting the Austrian Army was the fact that officers did not know the languages of the soldiers in their suborder. In the Slavic regiments, for instance, only 1/12 officers could make themselves understood in these languages,⁵² but this was also the case of other languages spoken by the soldiers in the Austrian Army.

The officers who had close contact with the troops (as they instructed the soldiers and taught military regulations, arithmetic, etc.) did not take the trouble of making themselves understood by the soldiers, even though this would have been very easy for them. They limited themselves to reading passages from the regulations to them, to explain these to them as well as they could, in German, and then to ask the men if they had understood. Although about half of the soldiers did not understand German, they answered, shamefaced, that they had. Those officers who made an effort to get down to their level of understanding were very esteemed and loved by the troops, but they represented a minority. The training field was dominated by swearing, beating and harsh treatments. Even officers who had some level of education and nourished better feelings became accustomed to using this injurious language. The crimes committed by soldiers against their superiors represented an expression of the despair they had accumulated over time, the result of abuses repeatedly committed against them.⁵³ Suicides had the same causes, but suicide attempts were punishable by a number of truncheon blows, this treatment being considered appropriate for curing serious spiritual suffering.⁵⁴

Besides beating, there were other punishments, too: more frequent guard service, different types of arrest, according to the seriousness of the offence, the penalty of running the gauntlet. Considered by soldiers to be the most dishonourable, shackled arrest forced those incarcerated to crouch for 24 hours or longer, some doctors believing it should be abolished or retained only for those who were drunken and aggressive. Most dangerous for the health was caning with strokes applied to the upper back, since it could cause tears or bruises of the ribs, lung diseases, spinal nerve injury and the paralysis of the lower limbs, etc. It was later replaced by caning on the buttocks, less harmful, even though it could affect the genitals. In the early 19th century, under military criminal law there were allowed up to 50 truncheon strokes across the buttocks, but there were also cases when the offender could receive 50 strokes in two or more consecutive days, which could lead to abscesses and slowly

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 45-49.

⁵² *Ibidem*, pp. 82-83.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, pp. 61-67.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 70-73.

healing wounds, lumbar pain, amputation of the buttocks or even death.⁵⁵ Aside from capital punishment, the heaviest penalty was running the gauntlet. A total of 300 soldiers were arranged into two rows, each with a cluster of two or several pliant branchless rods, and the convict had to pass several times (in the harshest version, which was tantamount to a death sentence, they had to pass 10 times), with their bare backs, through these rows. Soldiers would strive to run fast so as to receive fewer strokes or they would drink brandy before running, so as to muster some courage.⁵⁶

In the Hungarian regiments, which included Romanians too, caning was more widely used and soldiers were so familiarised with it that it no longer had any effect.⁵⁷ Theoretically, the law protected soldiers in front of the despotic officers, who had to comply with certain rules, breaching these entailing a series of penalties.⁵⁸ However, although they were officially banned, the blows sub-officers applied arbitrarily were actually turned a blind eye to and they appear to have been part of the soldiers' everyday life.⁵⁹

In the published sources, there is little information regarding the recruitment of Romanian soldiers in the 18th century. The demands for new recruits reached Transylvania more and more often, the military authorities rallying the efforts of the Romanian clergy, in an attempt to attract the Romanians as volunteer soldiers.⁶⁰ On 22 March 1799, the Romanians from Burzenland were put in a position to complain to the local authorities that the Saxon civil servants favored their own co-nationals at recruitment and they urged that the distribution of the number of recruits should be made proportionally, not to the detriment of the Romanians.⁶¹ In the early years of the wars with the French, the Romanian civil servants from the same area complained that they could hardly gather the required number of recruits, as the young lads were away with the sheep in Wallachia,⁶² or that had only managed to capture one lad at a wedding.⁶³ The Saxon chronicles from Burzenland mentioned the seizing by violence of the recruits, "especially in the Romanians' case," and their reaction - fleeing into the woods. The Saxon villages felt seized by insecurity and intervened with the government, which prohibited fleeing army recruitment and summoned the runaways to return.⁶⁴ A few years later, there was another record of Romanian recruits being captured at night, the vengeance of those who had managed to escape by bribing the

⁵⁵ Anton Johann Beinl, *Versuch einer militärischen Staatsarzneykunde in Rücksicht auf die kaiserliche königliche Armee*, Wien, 1804, pp. 362-364.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 365-367.

⁵⁷ Fenner von Fenneberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

⁵⁸ Beinl, *op. cit.*, p. 356.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 363.

⁶⁰ *Catalogul documentelor românești din Arhivele Statului de la orașul Stalin*, București: Direcția Arhivelor Statului, 1955, vol. I, p. 480.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 582.

⁶² *Ibidem*, pp. 539-540.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 550.

⁶⁴ Joseph Teutsch, "Nachlese zu den kurzgefassten Jahrgeschichten von Ungarn und Siebenbürgen," in *Chroniken und Tagebücher*, vol. I, Brasov: Zeidner, 1904, p. 474.

ones who had seized them, and complaint against this abuse, submitted to their Romanian bishop.⁶⁵

To our knowledge, the first physician who spoke about homesickness among the Romanian soldiers was Anton Johann Beinl, in 1804, in the work on medicine and military health police we have already cited, where the Romanians are mentioned among the peoples suffering from this disease: the Poles, the inhabitants of Styria, Carinthia and Krajina, the Croats, or the Tyroleans. Far more important was the record Johann Nepomuk Isfordink made two decades later. Ennobled for his merits (Edler von Kostnitz), he was a military doctor for many years, and in 1804 he became Professor of General Pathology and Pharmacy at the *Josephinum*, the Faculty of Medicine and Military Surgery, founded by Joseph II in 1784. He held this post until 1812, when he was appointed head of the Army's entire medical system and rector of the Faculty of Military Medicine. He was a good practitioner, deeply knowledgeable of military life, with great merits in the reorganisation of the military health system and of military medical education. The most important of his scientific works focuses on public hygiene and military health police, *Militärische Gesundheitspolizei mit besonderer Beziehung auf die k.k. österreichische Armee*, published in two volumes in Vienna (1825) and re-edited a few years later.⁶⁶ The work is of great interest to historians because of its rich information about the soldiers' health, their most common diseases and the conditions that favored them, their living conditions (food, clothing and the quarterage space) and proposals for their improvement, the penalties imposed on soldiers, as well as the precise references to the regulations and military laws that structured the soldiers' lives, or the twofold perspective - of the physician and of the conscientious bureaucrat - adopted in the text.

As regards homesickness, Isfordink admitted that despite all the precautionary measures provided by the military regulations, this disease still robbed the army of many of its young soldiers. As a military physician serving in the Tyrolean regiments of *Kaiserjäger*, he had ample opportunity to observe this malady, whose first manifestations included sleepwalking. Therefore, he considered that sleepwalking was a germ of the disease, which manifested itself first in sleep, until it eventually also seized the patient during spells of wakefulness and developed into a full-blown disease. This disease afflicted especially those in mountainous areas, those who had actually led a very simple life, far from the hectic bustle of the world. That was why awakening these soldiers' memories of their previous lives and dispatching them in regiments that spoke a language they were not familiar with had to be avoided.⁶⁷ If, however, with all the caution and benevolent attitude, the physician ascertained the presence of the disease, the patient had to be allowed home on leave until he

⁶⁵ Teutsch, "Historische Zugabe [1467-1770]," in *ibidem*, p. 352.

⁶⁶ Karl Sommeregger, "Isfordink von Kostnitz, Johann Nepomuk," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, ed. by the Historical Commission of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, vol. 50 (1905), pp. 706-707, online edition: http://de.wikisource.org/w/index.php?title=ADB:Isfordink_von_Kostnitz,_Johann_Nepomuk&oldid=169275

⁶⁷ Johann Nepomuk Isfordink, *Militärische Gesundheitspolizei mit besonderer Beziehung auf die k. k. österreichische Armee*, vol. I, second ed., Vienna: J. G. Heubner, 1827, pp. 77-79.

recovered and could serve in the army. Isfordink cited, in this regard, a decree issued by Emperor Joseph II on 12 July 1788 and a military regulation of the army in Bavaria, which featured similar provisions.⁶⁸ The army leadership was in a delicate situation, because the soldiers could simulate disease, knowing that they could thus be granted a long leave. Hence, the author insisted, in keeping with all the official recommendations, that when the slightest trace of the disease was detected among the recruits severity, even the mere mention of the word *Heimweh* (homesickness) should be prohibited. This disease generally needed to be spoken and written about as little as possible, he said. He reinforced his statement by citing the severe punishments the Swiss mercenaries from the French army could incur for singing songs from back home, given their ability to trigger this disease, with unpleasant effects for the military.⁶⁹

Here are a few lines Isfordink wrote about the Romanian soldiers: “The Wallachian recruit has to wage the hardest battle in transitioning from his previous life to that of a soldier, which often costs him his life, even before reaching the regiment. Parents, relatives and close acquaintances accompany the new soldier for one or more marching stations. On the way, they chant sad songs about the future fate of the recruit; everything that he held dear and is now mentioned is reminisced about, so the young soldier’s soul is filled with pain. It is clear that these peaceful funeral convoys should be banned in order to prevent the outbreak of homesickness.”⁷⁰ There is a striking parallelism with the pastoral songs hummed or sung by the Swiss mercenaries from France: those songs were banned because, in the opinion of physicians of the time, they caused the dreaded disease.

The folklorist Ioan Pop Reteganul (1853-1905) left us a description of the atmosphere that prevailed in the Transylvanian villages during recruitment in the second half of the 19th century, when the period of military service was already much reduced, the cathartic function of songs being mentioned, too. “The minute the mayor of the commune had read out the list of those who would participate in lot-casting, a dark upsurge of woefulness seized the youth, seeing that many of them - especially if there should be any warfare - would not be coming back to their native homes... As for this woefulness, they manifest and express it through appropriate songs, which our lads and lassies sing from the depths of their hearts; they do not sing them for parade’s sake, but to quench the embers burning their heart.”⁷¹ Romanians did not fear death, but they succumbed to woefulness at becoming separated from their folks, from the places where they had spent their childhood and because they dreaded the

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 81. We have not yet conducted a systematic research on the legal provisions and regulations dealing with this disease, but even so, we have found that the problem was most topical in 1816, when Emperor Francis I issued, once again, a detailed provision on how the physicians, the military and political bodies entitled to send soldiers afflicted by this disease on leave would have to proceed. See *Fortsetzung der von Joseph Kropatschek verfaßten Sammlung der Gesetze. Enthält die politischen und Justiz-Gesetze, welche unter der Regierung Sr. Majestät, Kaisers Franz des I. in den sämtlichen k.k. Erbländen erlassen worden sind, in chronologischer Ordnung*, ed. Wilhelm Gerhard Goutta, Vienna, 1818, vol. 36, pp. 179-181.

⁶⁹ Isfordink, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 80-81.

⁷¹ Ioan Pop Reteganul, *Românul în sat și la oaste*, Gherla, 1913, pp. 27-28.

gloomy spaces abroad.”⁷² Everyone from the village went to the place of recruitment, led by the mayor. “Then you should see all the weeping and wailing! Parents, brothers, sisters, the friends of those who go to conscription, they are all here.” On the way, they drank in all the taverns they came across and mustered up courage by singing, making fun of trouble, joking about the wedding to which the emperor had summoned them, to marry them to their rifles.⁷³

The Romanian soldiers’ homesickness was expressed most clearly through these “sad songs,” as they were called by the chief physician of the Austrian Army, Isfordink. In the specialised language of the Romanian folklore researchers, these songs are known as “songs about soldiers and wars,” “recruitment songs” and, less frequently, as “military camp folklore.” It is possible that the work of the military physician Isfordink contains one of the first references to these songs, because this was precisely the period when folklore collectors began their recording activity.⁷⁴ Researchers in the field consider that recruitment songs are a relatively recent folklore species, born during the transition from medieval armies to modern armies; in the Romanian territories of the Habsburg Empire, the establishment of the Romanian border regiments (in the middle of the 18th century) and the ever more massive recruitment represented the impulse underlying the crystallisation of such songs.⁷⁵ The most important researcher of Romanian folklore, Ovidiu Bîrlea, considers this category to be modest in quantitative terms, amounting to about 5% of all the songs themselves,⁷⁶ caused by “an inner disposition, when the luminous focus of attention descends into one’s own soul.”⁷⁷

The essential characteristic of recruitment songs was an innate aversion to military service, illustrated mainly by curse-songs. Curses were proffered against the Germans who had divorced them from the natural purposes of their peasant lives, against the village officials who had collaborated for their recruitment, against the mothers who had birthed them as sons rather than as daughters, preventing them from staying at home with their loved ones, against the city of Sibiu, the largest military

⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 36. This is the emblematic expression of a category of songs known as the “poetry of alienation.” The theme is very well represented in the Romanian folklore, especially with reference to a girl who got married to strangers (far away from her own village) and who complains about the lack of close relatives and their love; this expression has also permeated classical poetry (see, for instance, the poem “Doină” by Mihai Eminescu). See Ovidiu Papadima, “Poezia populară a înstrăinării și a dorului,” in *Limba și literatură*, 1963, V, no. 7.

⁷³ Pop Reteganul, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

⁷⁴ Traian Mârza, “Cântecul de cătănie din Bihor, o specie distinctă a liricii ocazionale,” in *Lucrări de muzicologie*, vol. 5, Cluj-Napoca, 1969, p. 115.

⁷⁵ Ovidiu Bîrlea, *Folclorul românesc*, vol. II, București: Editura Minerva, 1983, p. 223. To have an idea of the ancientness of other folklore species, let us compare them, for example, with the ballad *Miorița*, the masterpiece of Romanian folklore, whose genesis occurred at a much earlier date, the oldest episodes of the ballad possibly dating from “before the Romanians’ dialectal separation.” See Adrian Fochi, *Miorița. Tipologie, circulație, geneză, texte*, București: Editura Academiei R. P. R., 1964, p. 534.

⁷⁶ Bîrlea, *Folclorul ...*, II, p. 223.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p.172.

centre of Transylvania, etc.⁷⁸ Although they bore the seal of improvisation and loans from older songs and reached more modest levels of artistic performance than other categories structured and polished for hundreds of years, many of these songs are worthy of attention, in whole or in part. One example would be that of the songs about the City (Sibiu and Vienna), which for the gloomy soul of the peasant-soldiers was symbolised solely by the street where soldiers marched, followed by the gloomy convoy of the parents; the latter wailed and lamented that they would be bereft of their sons.⁷⁹ Perhaps even more accomplished was the song about the army shirt one recruit asked his mother to make him, a special shirt on which there should be sewn the images of everything he had left behind: the plough with the oxen, the brothers and the sisters, the lover and the mother. It was an extremely discreet manner of expressing one's attachment and love for these beings and the way of life one was now leaving behind.⁸⁰ In general, the texts of those songs reveal a sense of compassion and endearment, given that the mother was most frequently invoked, more often than the lover (the "lassie" of the text) or the wife, as unmarried young were preferred for recruitment.⁸¹ Other outstanding examples are the short texts in which the emperor from Vienna appears depicted as the sender of a letter addressed to the girls in villages; in the popular imagination, the high dignitary shares their pain and, hence, writes these girls not to get dressed in joyful, colourful clothes but in mourning attire, because many young lads have died in battle. Perhaps the emperor's most frequent representation is that in which he is requested to make peace, lest he should become the target of the curses proffered by the mothers and the wives or lovers of those who died in battle.

A well-outlined chapter in this repertoire concerns death at war or amongst strangers. Death at war had always been feared and it frightened Romanian peasants more than death itself, as it encapsulated all undesirable situations: it was a sudden death, devoid of psychological and spiritual preparation; it was a death amongst strangers, devoid of the prescribed religious and folk ritual; it was often a death of young men, who, under normal circumstances, should have been "fixed" at a ritualistic level through a death-wedding. Death at war could also accumulate the ancestral fear of the lack of a grave.⁸² The peasant creators used the existing repertoire and adapted it to this situation: based on the much older model of pastoral songs, there were created songs about soldiers' dying amongst strangers. These texts convey a deep sadness caused not by death itself, but by the absence of the loved ones and the obligatory rites at my moment of the great transition. They present a picture of the dying soldier, whose grief is exacerbated by the lack of a candle, a coffin and

⁷⁸ General Command Headquarters of the Army in Transylvania and of the 12th Army Corps between 1703 and 1865.

⁷⁹ Ioan Urban Jarnik, Andrei Bîrseanu, *Doine și strigături din Ardeal*, definitive ed. by Adrian Fochi, București: Editura Academiei R.S.R., 1968, text DCVIII, pp. 308-309.

⁸⁰ Alexandru Dobre, "Folclorul taberei militare. Câteva observații în legătură cu motivul liric 'Curiește-mi cămeșă'," in *Revista de Etnografie și Folclor*, tome 17, 1972, no. 6, pp. 491-501.

⁸¹ The age of recruitment generally started at 17 or 18 years.

⁸² Eugenia Bîrlea, *Perspectiva lumii rurale asupra primului război mondial*, Cluj-Napoca: Editura Argonaut, 2004, p. 168.

all the objects used in a burial (the lack of a cushion under the dead man's head further underlines the loveless atmosphere in which the soldier passes away) and, especially, by the absence of the mother's and the relatives' tears.

In the second half of the 19th century, folklorists captured in their research the fear caused by death among strangers or at war and the necessary reparative gestures: the subsequent wailing⁸³ and the funeral service *in absentia*,⁸⁴ as well as cases of mourning at home for soldiers who died and were buried on the battlefield in Plevna, during the War of Independence.⁸⁵ It comes, therefore, as no surprise that the groups of Romanians who went to war appeared to the Austrian physician Isfordink as funeral convoys, for they also had this significance, of funeral convoys. Ovidiu Bîrlea stated that during his research, he encountered women who had mourned in advance for their sons at the time of their departure for the front, in the two world wars, the custom representing a natural continuation of mourning during recruitment from the previous centuries.⁸⁶ The memoirs referring to World War I also mention the custom of wailing at the time of the young recruits' going to war, with harrowing scenes that took place in the train stations whence the Romanian soldiers journeyed to the front.⁸⁷ In addition to the women's (especially the mothers') wailing at their sons' departure from home, Ovidiu Bîrlea highlighted the role of mourning-in-advance and the disturbing effect of the "soldiers' songs on the station platforms or in the cramped wagons that took them away from their homeland. *Pleno gutture* singing was their only means to relieve their souls from the burden of alienation, [...] for song served as a manly, communal wail."⁸⁸

In these songs, going to war was featured as "a disaster of apocalyptic proportions" and the battlefield was pictured through eschatological images: "For where I proceed/There's no ear of wheat/Only blood, up to my feet..."⁸⁹ Alongside the picture of death among strangers, deprived of the customary funeral ceremony, the image of the huge wave of blood provides the most tragic overtones of this repertoire.

⁸³ The funeral-related repertoire is divided into two large categories: ritual songs (connected to a particular moment of the funeral ceremony, with a fixed text, a highly polished form, which refers not only to the dead person in question, but to all the dead and which are sung by groups of women who are good connoisseurs of the repertoire, but are unrelated to the deceased) and dirges, which are not related to the ceremonial moments and can also be sung after the funeral, by a single woman, less frequently in a group, but she must be a close relative or a friend of the deceased; the content is customized to the situation of the deceased and has a much freer form, as mourners can improvise new lyrics, dirges being, therefore, much inferior, in artistic terms, to ritual funeral songs. See Ovidiu Bîrlea, "Cântecul ritual funebre din ținutul Pădurenilor (Hunedoara)," in *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei*, 1968-1970, Cluj-Napoca, 1971, pp. 362-367.

⁸⁴ Simeon Florea Marian, *Înmormântarea la români*, București: Editura Grai și Suflet - Cultura Națională, 1995, pp. 229-230.

⁸⁵ T. T. Burada, *Datinele poporului român la înmormântări*, Iași, 1882, p. 84.

⁸⁶ Ovidiu Bîrlea, "Bocetele și verșurile funebre din ținutul Pădurenilor (Hunedoara)," in *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Transilvaniei*, 1971-1973, Cluj-Napoca, 1973, pp. 580-581.

⁸⁷ See O. T. Tăslăuanu, *Trei luni pe câmpul de război. Ziarul unui ofițer român din armata austro-ungară, care a luat parte cu glotașii din Ardeal, la luptele din Galiția*, București, 1916, p. 15, p. 46 and Eugen Goga, *Două Siberii*, București, 1916, p. 19.

⁸⁸ Bîrlea, *Folclorul ...*, II, pp. 173-174.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 225.

In conclusion, we can say that the disease of homesickness affected the Romanian soldiers with particular intensity, perhaps even more than other soldiers in the multinational army of the Habsburgs, if we take into account the objective conditions of military service: violent and abusive recruitment, the duration of military service, the brutal methods of instruction and, especially, the soldiers' removal from their familiar, native places and their isolation in a multinational army, where they knew no other language than their own. It was the merit of the physician and high official Isfordink to have recorded the suffering of the Romanian soldiers, even though he took a stand against the "funeral convoys," that is, the songs the Romanian soldiers were accompanied by when leaving for their regiments. In these difficult circumstances, the soldiers' songs were, for them and their families, a means of purification, assisting them to relieve their souls of a burden that risked crushing them under its weight, causing the combatants to fall prey to homesickness, a serious ailment, which could often prove fatal at that time.

THE PROFESSIONALIZATION OF THE ROMANIAN GREEK-CATHOLIC CLERGY IN TRANSYLVANIA DURING THE MODERN PERIOD: THEORETICAL APPROACHES²

Abstract: Starting from a series of sociological studies, this article embarks on a theoretical approach to the theme of the professionalization of the Romanian Greek-Catholic clergy from the Archdiocese of Alba-Iulia and Făgăraș, during the second half of the 19th century. The study is organized along two directions: an analysis of the major social theories of professionalization set forth by British scholars in the field, followed by an assessment of their degree of applicability to the case study of the Romanian Greek-Catholic clergy in Transylvania. Analysing the defining elements of a profession – specialized education, a particular code of conduct, altruism in relation to people who resort to professionals, the system of licensing specialists, social prestige, a considerable financial reward, promotion based on a certain hierarchy, the monopoly of the services offered and autonomy – in the case of the clergy, we believe that this category complied with many of the characteristics of professionalization. There are interesting foreseeable variations, such as the national-religious component, clerical marriage or priestly dynasties, which highlight the peculiarities of the professionalization process undergone by the clergy in the Greek-Catholic Archdiocese of Alba-Iulia and Făgăraș.

Keywords: professionalization, priests, Romanian Greek-Catholic Archdiocese of Făgăraș, 19th century, control.

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This study adopts a twofold perspective, opening with a theoretical approach to a theme of considerable import in the sociology of the 20th century: that of professionalization. In the second part of the study, I attempt to show that such a theoretical framework can be applied to my research topic: a community of professionals, analysed from the vantage of its historical past.

The perspective that I have pursued has led me to outline the features of a professional group that was deeply involved in the needs of the Romanian society in 19th-century Transylvania: the Romanian Greek-Catholic priests. Identifying these features among the clergy dedicated to the *cura animarum*, those priests who formed the cornerstone of a profound religious life, has been a genuine challenge, especially since the study explores a reality that occurred more than one century and a half ago.

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² This research, focused on the professionalization of the Romanian Greek-Catholic clergy, is the offshoot of an ampler project, dedicated to religious life in the Romanian Greek-Catholic Archdiocese of Alba-Iulia and Făgăraș during the second half of the 19th century, funded by program SOPHRD/89/1.5/S/60189.

The training of priests, their behaviour, their relations with the faithful and the state represent a few fundamental areas of interest in this research.

1. Theories of professionalization

In a volume dedicated to the phenomenon of professionalization in the German State, Charles E. McClelland shows that several sociological studies regard priesthood as one of the oldest professions, while clerics are considered to have been among the first professionals, along with lawyers and physicians, since their professionalization took place before the 19th century.³

Studies dedicated to the professionalization of various categories of specialists have been undertaken ever since the interwar period, but they reached consecration especially in the aftermath of World War II, in the research conducted by sociologists from the United States and Britain; sociologists from the rest of Europe were less concerned with this issue, which they began to address quite late, in the 1990s, through researches such as that which McClelland dedicated to the German space. For this study, I have used a series of sociology studies published in the 1960s-80s, as they represent works of reference for research dedicated to professionalization. Methodological debate has focused both on theoretical aspects, such as the definition of professionals, and on some practical issues, such as the establishment of scales for measuring the degree of professionalization identifiable in various categories of specialists.

Initial approaches mainly targeted professional communities; foremost among these was William Goode's study, which examined professional communities as "communities without physical locus," without a common origin, but whose members were bound by a series of features such as: a certain sense of common identity, a lifelong membership in the community, a common value system and specific language, understood to a lesser degree by those outside the community.⁴ Among other features, Goode included the control exerted by the community over the individuals who were part of it and controlled access within the group, by establishing clear rules of training and promoting its members.⁵ One of his extremely pertinent observations concerned the fact that the strength of a community lies in its right to judge its own members, a right that was to be recognized unanimously by its members, but also by society. This internal investigation authority appeared in order to protect the community's members from being judged by the civil society, which might disregard the internal statutes of the profession in question in evaluating certain behaviours or actions of the professionals.⁶

³ Charles E. McClelland, *The German Experience of Professionalization. Modern Learned Professions and Their Organizations from the Early Nineteenth Century to the Hitler Era*, Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp. 15, 43.

⁴ William J. Goode, "Community within a Community: The Professions," in *American Sociological Review*, vol. 22, No. 2, 1957, pp. 194-200.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 194.

⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 198-199.

In the following years, sociologists endeavoured to answer questions related to the professionalization tendencies of different categories of specialists, approached from the perspective of social theories. Harold Wilensky was concerned with outlining the structural model of a typical professionalization process, which he identified in his researches devoted to 18 occupational categories; he ascertained the existence of certain stages these occupations had gone through in the process of their professionalization and assessed a number of obstacles that had interfere with this process. His conclusions were those that one could speak of a profession when there was a group of specialists that held the monopoly over the provision of services or over various technical skills, a monopoly recognized as such by the State and society.⁷

Another aspect I have considered in the present study resides in W. Richard Scott's approach to the right of control and supervision in professional organizations. Based on Max Weber's theories concerning the autonomy degree of professional organizations (autonomous and heteronomous organizations), Scott stated that in heteronomous professional organizations, the control exerted from outside over their activity was accepted as inherent to the situation. The higher the degree of professionalism, the stronger the realization that this control was imposed from outside and the greater the preference for internal control, exerted by the organization's own hierarchy.⁸ Thus, the higher professionalization of a heteronomous occupational group, the less willing it was to accept rules, evaluations and controls imposed from outside its own professional category.

A step forward was represented by Richard H. Hall's research, which established a 10-item assessment scale for the degree of professionalization, based on the 5 attitudes of professionalization: "Professional organization as reference," "Belief in public service" "Belief in self-regulation," "Sense of Calling to Field" and "Feeling of autonomy."⁹ As a result of applying the professionalism assessment scale, what was highlighted was the fact that the more autonomous a professional organization was, the lower was its level of bureaucratization and, conversely, excessive bureaucracy was directly related to the control exercised from outside over the category of professionals in question.¹⁰

In this study, Hall also revealed that something that also mattered in choosing a career was the safety it offered: many women chose less well paid careers, for instance, teaching, nursing and social work, which were nonetheless considered "safe" for them.¹¹ This choice, however, was correlated with other factors, such as faith in the service they provided for the public use, for the community, as well as a sense of having a calling for their chosen field.

⁷ Harold L. Wilensky, "The Professionalization of Everyone?," in *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 70, No. 2, 1964, pp. 137-158.

⁸ W. Richard Scott, "Reactions to Supervision in a Heteronomous Professional Organization," in *Administrative Science Quarterly*, vol. 10, No. 1, Special Issue on Professionals in Organizations, June 1965, pp. 65-81.

⁹ Richard H. Hall, "Professionalization and Bureaucratization," in *American Sociological Review*, vol. 33, No. 1, 1968, pp. 92-98.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 101-104.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 97.

In addition to the studies produced in the 1960s-70s, there are several recent directions, initiated by Douglas Hall and Dawn Chandler, who have attempted to quantify the vocation or calling for a specific occupation, especially when the profession in question was deeply involved in public service.¹² By “calling,” the two authors understand an activity, a field to which people feel attracted because they consider that this is their purpose in life.¹³ Still, the authors have felt the need to differentiate between a religious and a secular calling.¹⁴ At the same time, they have highlighted the fact that there are some contextual factors that may influence the decision to follow this calling, as is, for instance, the socio-economic context: an appropriate family background, with family members already active in the chosen field, or adequate financial resources.¹⁵

Most of the studies above are grounded in a sociological perspective or even evince a group psychology perspective, being easily applicable to current population groups. An approach that is closer to what I intend to accomplish belongs to Charles McClelland; he has investigated the professionalization of several categories of specialists in German territories throughout the 19th and the 20th centuries, as part of a long-term study, targeting several categories of professionals, including German priests.¹⁶

According to McClelland, the professions have certain characteristics, including the existence of specialized instruction and higher education systems, a particular code of ethics, a degree of altruism, the conscience of public service, a system of rigorous testing before granting a license, high social prestige, significant financial rewards, associated with the services rendered, a pattern of career advancement, a service monopoly on the market, and professional autonomy.¹⁷ These characteristics can offer a support for analysis, which can nonetheless be supplemented by other theoretical insights.

Applying this professionalization grid to the German clergy, McClelland has noted the fact that many of its characteristics were relevant for the priesthood; however, as regards the clerics’ financial reward or social prestige, were placed at lower levels than those reported for other categories of professionals, but were offset by the altruism the clergy displayed.¹⁸

¹² Douglas T. Hall, Dawn E. Chandler, “Psychological Success: When the Career Is a Calling,” in *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, vol. 26, No. 2, Special Issue: Reconceptualizing Career Success, 2005, pp. 155-176.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 160.

¹⁴ In the case of a religious calling, the source of the calling resided in God or another deity; the person in question was to perform his activity in the service of the community, the method of identifying the calling consisted in prayers or in listening to the needs of his fellow humans, and his mission was to enact the divine plan targeting one person or another in the community. In the case of a secular calling, the source of the calling resided within the individual himself. It served his personal interests or those of the community, and it could be carried out through introspection, reflection and meditation, the mission being that of reaching personal fulfilment. *Ibidem*, pp. 162-163.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 167.

¹⁶ Charles E. McClelland, *op.cit.*, pp. 15, 43.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 14.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, pp.16-18.

In his examination of the degree of professionalization, McClelland has emphasized the importance of professional autonomy from other reference groups; most often invoked, in this sense, is the conflict with the civil state and its modern bureaucracy, from the 19th century.¹⁹ Nonetheless, many Catholic states were relatively sheltered from the brutal intervention of the civil administration in the ecclesiastical sphere, especially if those states had entered into concordats with the Holy See.²⁰ The professionalization of the German clergy occurred later, under the influence of industrialization, urbanization and state interference, which had eroded the priests' traditional authority. In this process, an important role was given to the instruction of the clergy and to the formation of an ecclesiastical elite that could control and impose discipline among the group of professionals.²¹ The professionalization attempts of the German clergy envisaged achieving autonomy from the state and the civil society, but they also imposed greater control on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities, marking thus the transition from a heteronomous to an autonomous professional organization.

2. The professionalization of the Romanian Greek-Catholic clergy in the 19th century

The main challenge in this research has been that of adapting the sociological methods to a research that has explored the historical past of this professional category. Previous research in this regard, conducted by Wilensky, McClelland and Hall, was aimed at identifying several features of professionalization. The main aspects considered defining for a profession are specialized education, a proper code of conduct, altruism in relation to people who resort to professionals, the system of licensing specialists, social prestige, a considerable financial reward, promotion based on a certain hierarchy, the monopoly of the services offered and autonomy; as mentioned above, these characteristics were highlighted by McClelland. In the case of the Romanian Greek-Catholic clergy, I wish to propose several other characteristics that might be added to those already outlined, namely the establishment of a pension scheme for the clergy and a specific national and religious mission, which served as catalysts for this calling to the priesthood, because clerics were among the most fervent defenders of the national character.

The main questions that arise in such a scientific approach are determined by two aspects: the peculiarities of the professionalization process undergone by the Romanian Greek-Catholic clergy in the archdiocese and, respectively, the time period under study, which requires an adaptation of sociological methods to the historical approach. Since the majority of the aforementioned sociological studies were based on the administration of standard questionnaires to various professional categories and the interpretation of their results, a research on the professionalization of the Romanian Greek-Catholic clergy in the second half of the 19th century ought to combine historical reconstitution methods with a sociological perspective.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 36.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 240.

To what extent are the key elements of professionalization applicable to the case of the Romanian Greek-Catholic clergy? Did the national-confessional component influence the clergy's process of professionalization? Did the priesthood represent a "safe" occupation for the Romanians who were willing to assert themselves in this domain? Can retirement be accepted as an element that rounds off this professionalization tableau?

In attempting to answer these questions, I turned to a series of regulations issued by the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church, in force in the Archdiocese of Alba-Iulia and Făgăraș during the period under consideration. I tried to analyse these through the lenses of the professionalization theories proposed by the authors cited above.

The Romanian Greek-Catholic clergy in the Archdiocese of Alba-Iulia and Făgăraș presented many of the characteristics of a professional category, as indicated by the preliminary results of the research, outlined below.

Autonomy: from the standpoint of professional autonomy, the Romanian Greek-Catholic clergy presented the features of a semi-heteronomous professional organization, since theirs was a triple subjection: first, their obedience was due to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, second, they had to obey the Holy See and, third, they were subordinated to the civil authorities, whether these were represented by the emperor in Vienna or by the institutions of the Hungarian state. A significant element of ecclesiastical obedience was the profession of the Catholic faith in formula proposed by Pope Urban VIII, which the members of the Romanian Greek-Catholic clergy submitted several times throughout their ecclesiastical careers: as clerics, at their ordination, as priests, at their installation in office, and then at every promotion and every conciliar reunion; the profession of faith was a reiteration of the religious union with Rome and a proof of their compliance with it.²² The latter half of the 19th century witnessed, however, the ever insistent intrusion of the Hungarian state, which conditioned, for example, its provision of financial aid to the churches and the clergy on a deeper involvement of the laity in ecclesiastical matters.²³ Some of the problems arising between the Hungarian State and the representatives of the Romanian Greek-Catholic clergy, especially the ecclesiastical elite thereof, may be subsumed to the efforts undertaken by the ecclesiastical administration to impose its autonomy from the state.

Theological education and licensing: the education of the majority of the Romanian Greek-Catholic clergy in the archdiocese took place in the seminary from Blaj, established since the 18th century. Their studies lasted four years and those theologians who wanted to continue their studies had to choose between the Universities of Vienna, Budapest and Rome. A Faculty of Theology was a desideratum upheld by the clergy in the entire Romanian Greek-Catholic Church; it was only accomplished partially during the interwar period, when the right of the

²² *Conciliul provincial prim al provinciei bisericești greco-catolice Alba-Iulia și Făgăraș ținut la anul 1872*, second ed., Blaj, 1886, p. 13; *Conciliul provincial al doilea al provinciei bisericești greco-catolice Alba-Iulia și Făgăraș ținut la anul 1882*, second ed., Blaj, 1886, pp. 66-80.

²³ Covaci Diana, *Mitropolitul Victor Mihályi de Apșa și epoca sa (1895-1918)*. PhD Thesis, Cluj-Napoca, 2010, pp. 257-258.

Academy of Theology from Blaj to grant theology degrees, albeit not doctoral titles as well, was recognized.²⁴ The impulse to control formative education and grant licensing degrees recognized by the professional group had been present ever since the 18th century, but the achievement of this objective had encountered multiple postponements.

Its own code of conduct: the right of the churches to self-government, recognized even by the Hungarian state under Law 43 of 1868, was applied through the regular reunions of the clergy in their synods. Thus, during the years 1868-1911, there were held three provincial synods and seven archdiocesan synods, while at the level of the local ecclesiastical administration, mention should be made of the organization of archpresbyterial synods twice a year.²⁵ All of these synodal reunions issued decrees enforceable in the territory of jurisdiction; they were supplemented by archiepiscopal circulars, whose role was to correct any possible errors in the enforcement of the synodal decrees.²⁶ The permanent adjustment of the clerics' conduct was necessary given that even the Hungarian secular state had a say in many matters pertaining to the state-church relationship. In this context, internal control, exerted by the ecclesiastical authorities, was necessary to avoid potential interferences that could occur if referral was made to the civil authorities.

Social control exercised by its own community: the ecclesiastical courts' right of judgment in matters involving the clergy was one of the issues recognized by the civil law and carefully regulated by the archdiocesan ecclesiastical authorities. Thus, in order to enforce discipline among the clergy, the main judicial authority was represented by the Consistory, acting directly and through the archpresbyterial synods, delegated with judicial powers. Clerical discipline fell within the responsibility of the archpriests, who were bound to issue annual reports in this regard, while at the central level, there was instated a prosecutor of the Consistory, *fiscus consistorialis*, who verified the reports and ruled in the case of complaints about the behaviour of the clergy.²⁷ However, there were certain offences involving civil jurisdiction as well, especially if a cleric or a priest was accused of nationalist activities undermining the state. These cases multiplied towards the end of the dualist period. During World War I, several priests were incarcerated, their loyalty being questioned by the Hungarian state, at war with Romania at the time.

Promotion: under the Oriental tradition, the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church condoned clerical marriage and the priests' starting their own families. This aspect, however, raised questions about the possibility of promotion in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, since a married priest could advance only to the level of a canon of the royal foundation in the Cathedral Chapter of Blaj; the Latin tradition favored the

²⁴ *Conciliul provincial prim*, pp. 155-163; Octavian Bârlea, "Biserica Română Unită între cele două războaie mondiale," in *Biserica Română Unită: două sute cincizeci ani de istorie*, Madrid, 1952, p. 100.

²⁵ Charles de Clercq, *Histoire des Conciles d'après les documents originaux*, Tome XI, *Conciles des Orientaux Catholiques*, Paris, 1952, passim; Covaci Diana, *op.cit.*, pp. 69-129.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 106-113.

²⁷ *Conciliul provincial prim*, pp. 173-177; *Conciliul provincial al doilea*, pp. 138-180.

celibate clergy, who were most often designated to occupy the highest ecclesiastical offices.²⁸

A notable exception was Alexandru Șterca-Șuluțiu, the first Metropolitan of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church, elected bishop by the clergy in 1848, despite the fact that he was a widower.²⁹ In the late 19th century, such promotions were also becoming rarer in the Romanian Greek-Catholic Archdiocese of Făgăraș, attesting the fact that the Holy See was extremely cautious in this regard and did not allow deviations from the Latin norm. Again, the heteronomous character left its mark on one aspect pertaining to the professionalization of the Romanian Greek-Catholic clergy, who were imposed strict conditions and rules for the promotion of its professional group members.

Social prestige: from the Romanians' perspective, the social prestige of a priest was significant, particularly in the countryside, where, next to the teacher and the civil authorities, the priest was one of the most important personalities in the community. Moreover, from a moral standpoint, the priest and his family were models of conduct for the community of believers. The prestige associated with the ecclesiastical office was considerable, especially if we consider the fact that the priesthood represented one of the most accessible careers for the Romanians who were eager to overcome their condition. Further evidence in this regard was provided by an increasingly common practice in the second half of the 19th century, that of the priestly dynasties, whereby a father who was a priest would engage his son or his son-in-law, who was also a priest, as his aid.³⁰

The remuneration of the clergy: this was often symbolic, especially when it came to priests in the villages, where the majority of the Romanians resided in fact. In the 19th century, it was increasingly clamoured that the clergy should receive adequate remuneration, based on salary thresholds determined by their studies, their activity in the service of the community and other considerations, such as the family situation, etc. The problem of clerical remuneration was recurrent in the latter half of the 19th century, especially since the completion of the priestly salary by the state – the *congrua* – was to be definitively regulated only in 1909.³¹

The question that arises at this point is what determined the youth to embrace an ecclesiastical career? Adding together the matters of social prestige and the salary, a first possible answer would be: personal *vocation*, the determination to serve the spiritual needs of their fellow humans, to answer their calling to shepherd the flock of God. A second answer would come closer to what Hall identifies as a “safe

²⁸ *Conciliul provincial prim*, pp. 137-141; Mirela Popa-Andrei, Diana Covaci, “The Formation of An Ecclesiastical Elite in the Modern Era: A Comparative Approach of Two Cathedral Chapters,” in *Transylvania and Habsburg Monarchy in the “Long Nineteenth Century” 1800-1914*, ed. Iosif Marin Balog and Rudolf Gräf, *Transylvanian Review*, 2012, XXII, Supplement 2, pp. 140-155.

²⁹ For more details, see Ioana Mihaela Bonda, *Mitropolia Română Unită în timpul păstoririi lui Alexandru Șterca Șuluțiu (1853-1867)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2008.

³⁰ Simion Retegan, *Un tată între fiii săi: locul preotului în satul românesc din Transilvania de la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea*, in *Istoria ca lectură a lumii*, ed. Gabriel Bădăraș, Leonid Boicu, Lucian Nastasă, Iași, 1994, pp. 395-395 and passim.

³¹ Ioan Genț, *Administrația bisericească*, Oradea Mare, 1912, pp. 240-241.

occupation,” in the sense that certain occupations provided a secure living, even if devoid of outstanding material satisfaction.³² In this case, the existence of a vocation could be sufficient motivation to lead a life dominated by personal rather than by financial rewards.

Retirement of the clergy: the pensions of the Romanian Greek-Catholic clergy represented a criterion for the professionalization of this occupational category that I have associated with the reading grid proposed by the above-mentioned authors. According to the rules of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church, appointment to a priestly office was made for life, and priests could require the appointment of an aid if they could no longer cope with the demands of a priestly life. Launched in the mid-19th century, the pension system of the archdiocesan clergy was quite limited, being aimed particularly at the retirement of priests who were no longer able to carry out their duties, due to either sickness or old age. The beginning of the 20th century sanctioned, at least at a discursive level, the intention to generalize pensions for the Romanian Greek-Catholic clergy in the archdiocese.³³

Conclusions

Research undertaken so far indicates that this theme promises to be extremely interesting. Each of the characteristics of professionalization represents a possible line of research that deserves to be pursued thoroughly, as it will allow for comparisons to be made and for parallels with similar researches to be established. I also intend to complete this theoretical approach with a quantitative perspective, which, in keeping with the existing sources, will provide a statistical overview of the professionalization phenomenon experienced by the Greek Catholic clergy from the Archdiocese of Alba-Iulia and Făgăraș. In this regard, I aim to answer questions such as those relating to the percentage of married/widowed priests who had access to the ecclesiastical hierarchy or, more specifically, to what extent promotion was influenced by the clerics' status. I also want to study in more depth the subject of the safety offered by the priestly office and to detail the matter of the priestly dynasties, or to highlight the manner in which state intervention marked the evolution of the professionalization process undergone by the Romanian Greek-Catholic clergy. The assumption of a national-confessional component represents another aspect that deserves to be explored in more detail, using the grid of interpretation offered by the sociology of professionalization.

The Romanian Greek-Catholic clergy features several of the characteristics of a professional category, as they have been outlined by sociologists. Further, in-depth studies in this sense can supplement this theoretical approach with quantitative and qualitative information, allowing for the articulation of an effective theory regarding the professionalization of this clerical body.

³² Richard H. Hall, *art. cit.*, p. 97.

³³ Covaci Diana, “For the Rest of Their Life: the Retirement of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Clergy,” in *Transylvanian Review, Vol. XXI (Supplement), No 3, 2012, Scholars in Dialogue: Multidisciplinary Approaches in Dealing with the Past in Transylvania*, ed. Corina Moldovan, Ionuț Costea, Lavinia S. Stan, pp. 359-369.

GERMAN STUDENTS FROM TURDA AT GERMAN UNIVERSITIES BETWEEN 1848 AND 1918

Abstract: In the second half of the 19th century, there were 12 students from Turda who attended German universities. The most frequented university was the one in Berlin, which received six students from Turda; 3 studied at Marburg, 2 studied at Jena, one at Göttingen and one in Munich. There was a higher interest in theology (seven students) and a more modest one in philosophy (three), natural sciences and the fine arts-sculpture (one student each). The phenomenon of academic peregrination was very limited among the students from Turda who opted for one of the German universities, like in the case of their fellow-townsmen encountered in other universities. Only two scholars went to two university centres: Debreczeni Joseph studied philosophy in Zurich (1870-1871) and then in Berlin (1871-1872) and Wiski Julius studied theology at Marburg (1892-1893), and then in Berlin (1893). All of the 12 students from Turda were of Hungarian nationality, the Romanian element being altogether absent in this respect. Most of the students returned to Transylvania, even if they did not necessarily reside in their hometown, and they carried out their activity in the spirit of what they had studied in Germany. Among the personalities of Turda who studied in Germany, mention should be made of Rédiger Árpád, a Unitarian priest at Târnăveni, Debreczeni Joseph, a Professor at the Reformed College in Cluj, Apáti Abt Alexander, a sculptor and ceramist, as well as a Professor at the School of Applied Arts in Budapest, and Varga Adalbert, a Professor at the University of Cluj, Unitarian Bishop of Transylvania and Corresponding Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Keywords: students, Turda, German space, universities, the 19th century.

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At the beginning of the 19th century, the German space was a heterogeneous conglomeration of several states, most of them under the influence of Napoleonic France. Among them, Prussia stood out through its military, economic and political power. At the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Prussia was in the camp of the victorious states, fully benefiting from this status at the Peace Congress of Vienna (1814-1815). Following this, Prussia received a large part of Saxony, the Grand Duchy of Posen, Rhineland and Westphalia. According to the decisions reached in Vienna, instead of the Holy Roman German Empire dismantled by Napoleon in 1806, the German Confederation was established, with 39 states (four of which were free cities), under the leadership of Austria and Prussia. Starting from the first half of the 19th century, Prussia took the initiative of unifying the German space under its aegis. Following this process, the German Empire was proclaimed in 1871, in the wake of the defeat of Napoleon III's France.²

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² For the history of Germany from the 19th century until World War I, see: Andrina Stiles, *Unificarea Germaniei 1815-1890*, București: Ed. All, 1998 and Geoff Layton, *De la Bismarck la Hitler: Germania 1890-1933*, București: Ed. All, 2002.

The German space has a strong university tradition. The transition from the medieval to the modern occurred relatively late, as the University of Göttingen replaced Latin with German in the teaching process only in 1734. At the same time, the university was removed from the leadership of theologians, a growing emphasis being placed on the study of law and politics. All this led, in the late 18th century and the early 19th century, to the University of Göttingen acquiring a high degree of academic freedom. This trend was adopted by the University of Jena, especially in the field of speculative thought. Among others, those who studied at this university included: Friedrich Schiller, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Friedrich Wilhelm Schelling, and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel.³ German universities laid emphasis on science (*Wissenschaft*), seen as an organic totality of knowledge. In the 19th century, there was a profound reform of the German universities, an important role in this process being played by the secularisation of the episcopal principalities. In the case of Prussia, the most important German state, the loss of the town of Halle, following the Peace of Tilsit (1807), left only two universities within its borders: Frankfurt on Oder and Königsberg, but both had a rather provincial character.⁴ In this context, Wilhelm von Humboldt founded the University of Berlin in 1810, aiming to attract students from the entire German space. In parallel, the great scholar conducted a rigorous reform of the higher education system. Thus, in 1811 the University of Frankfurt on Oder was moved to Breslau (the present-day Wrocław, Poland) and in 1817 (after the town of Halle was returned to Prussia), the University of Halle reopened and merged with the University of Wittenberg. In order to attract young scholars from the Rhenish parts of Prussia, the University of Bonn opened in 1818.⁵ Prussian universities were conceived as institutions whose primordial aim was the development of the human intellect. Humboldt believed that the experience the professor communicated to the student made the latter an informed individual and helped him in his personal development. Professors had complete freedom in choosing the lectures they gave, and students could choose their university, professors and courses. It should be noted that the liberal arts were replaced with the rational sciences, with history, politics, economics and linguistics, and that the Faculty of Philosophy was now on a par with the schools of theology, medicine and law.⁶

Upon the establishment of the University of Berlin, there occurred a genuine revolution in the Prussian (German) higher education. Wilhelm von Humboldt took over the example of the Universities of Göttingen and Halle, laying particular emphasis on the importance of research in the professors' teaching activity, which allowed the introduction of seminars in addition to the regular courses, ensuring the students' initiation in the activity of research and preparing them for their subsequent

³ Hajo Halborn, *A History of Modern Germany 1648-1840*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964, p. 479.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 480.

⁵ Christophe Charle, *Intellectualii în Europa secolului al XIX-lea*, Iași: Institutul European, 2002, p. 68.

⁶ Hajo Halborn, *op. cit.*, p. 481.

careers and professions.⁷ The foundation of the University of Berlin brought about a true revolution in the German educational system. First of all, the Faculty of Philosophy was, from the beginning, the equal of the other traditional faculties (law, medicine, etc.). An important role was the link between teaching and research. At the level of political ideas, the University of Berlin advocated the ideas of liberalism promoted by Schleiermacher and Humboldt, being open to the new intellectual and social developments of the 19th century.⁸ A fundamental feature that was specific only to the German university system was the emergence and development of the institution known as *Privatdozenten* (private tutors, who had the necessary skills and knowledge to teach at the university, but did not hold a chair and did not receive wages), from the ranks of which the teaching staff was recruited. This system promoted the renewal of the education process, but its potential for innovation was limited by the fact that the state decided on appointments and could reject the undesirable candidates.⁹

One of the important characteristics of the German educational system in the 19th century was the great mobility of the university system. There was a competition among the many German states, including in the academic domain, which generated a competition among the universities, increasing, in effect, their competitiveness. The university competition between the German states gave professors greater freedom to negotiate their wages and working conditions, especially regarding the admission of assistants and the equipment of the research laboratories. By attracting famous professors, the German states could enhance their prestige, which was not possible in a centralised state model, as was the case of France. The number of students and, implicitly, the professors' salaries increased. While at the end of the 18th century, a professor from the University of Leipzig earned 225 Thalers, between 1820 and 1830 the professors from the Universities of Berlin, Tübingen, Marburg and Rostock were paid 400-1,400 Thalers.¹⁰ The adequate remuneration of the professors encouraged the quality of the courses they taught because they relinquished their other jobs, dedicating themselves exclusively to the teaching activity. In the evolution of the German universities throughout the 19th century, one may notice the decline of several traditional specialisations, such as the law and theology and the growing importance of philosophy and medicine. At the Faculty of Philosophy, the proposed seminars included theology, classical and modern philology, history or economics.¹¹ In the Catholic countries, the state apparatus exerted a very strict control over the university. Thus, in the conference of the German states from Karlsbad (1819), at the request of Austrian Chancellor Metternich, there was introduced a post of commissioner of the state in each university to oversee the manner in which the

⁷ Walter Rüegg, *A History of the University in Europe*, volume III *Universities in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries (1800-1945)*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 47-48.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 49.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 50.

professors and the students complied with the official imperatives.¹² After 1848, in Prussia this commissioner was replaced by a curator, who had responsibilities limited to matters that directly concerned the state.

From the second half of the 19th century, the German university model was copied in Europe and beyond, but it was clear that it was going through a crisis, especially in the German Empire, a crisis caused by the difficulty of integrating modern technology in the university and by the tendency of the faculty to form a strict hierarchy. Notwithstanding all this, the number of students increased considerably; in 1914 there were 61,000 students in Germany.¹³ In the second half of the 19th century, the number of technical universities increased. At first, they were perceived as second-class universities, but in 1865 they received the right to self-administration and in 1899 they were granted the right to issue doctorates, thus becoming equal with the others.

Regarding the students in Germany during the 19th century, they adopted a pragmatic outlook. They studied so that they would later have a certain career, enabling them to earn a living. This outlook clashed with the academic conservatism promoted by the professors, who became more specialised in their fields, references being made even to a sort of academic proletariat.¹⁴ At the turn of the 20th century, German professors became a privileged caste, which prompted the great philosopher Max Weber to state, after World War I, that a career in the academic life of Germany was based on plutocracy. On the other hand, after the proclamation of the empire, the state was involved in university life by appointing professors and funding scientific and medical institutes, university libraries, etc. State interference in universities also had an anti-Semitic connotation, as shown by the *Aron affair* (1899-1900). Leo Arons, who came from a Jewish family, became *Privatdozent* in physics at the University of Berlin (1889). For his exceptional qualities as a researcher, his colleagues proposed him, in 1892, for the title of Extraordinary Professor, but the Prussian Ministry of Religious Denominations and Education was opposed to this. Arons was a member of the Social Democratic Party, which was looked down upon by the officials in Berlin. The professors did not give up their original position despite ministerial pressures and did not want to restrict the rights of a *Privatdozent*, who was not a state official. Kaiser Wilhelm II intervened in this scandal, imposing a law (1899) whereby the Minister could issue a penalty against the academics' will. In any case, the professors from Berlin refused to revoke Arons.¹⁵

Another case that highlighted the involvement of the state in academic matters was the *Spahn affair* (1901). The German government had decided to appoint Martin Spahn, the son of a deputy from the Zentrum Party (Catholic), as Extraordinary Professor at the University of Strasbourg, without the consent of the professors there. The government's gesture amounted to a reverent bow to the Holy See and to Alsace, which had a Catholic majority population. The Alsatian professors addressed a protest

¹² Christophe Charle, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

¹³ Walter Rüegg, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 58.

¹⁵ Christophe Charle, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

to the Kaiser, who ignored them, sparking a great media campaign. One of the whistle-blowers of the infringement committed against academic freedoms was the historian Theodor Mommsen.¹⁶

As regards the financing of universities, while in 1860 the largest part of the budget of the University of Berlin had been directed towards professors' salaries, in 1910 half of the budget was spent on various institutes, the maintenance of buildings and equipment.¹⁷ In 1887 there was created the Imperial Physical-Technical Institute and in 1911 the Kaiser Wilhelm Society was founded, bringing together the state, the industry and the research institute outside the framework provided by the university.

The students from Turda and the German universities. The German universities were also attended by students from Turda. We have discussed about them in our study dedicated to the students from Turda in the modern era. We will confine ourselves now to saying that there were ten such students in the period 1796-1842. Of these, seven studied at the University of Göttingen, two in Jena and one in Berlin. In the period analysed in this study, the number of students from Turda who went to German universities registered a slight increase, 12 cases being relevant in this regard. The most frequented German university was the one in Berlin, which received six students from Turda; 3 studied at Marburg, 2 at Jena studied, one in Göttingen and one in Munich. What should be noted is their higher interest in theology (seven scholars) and a more modest one in philosophy (three), natural sciences and the fine arts - sculpture (one student). The phenomenon of academic peregrination was very limited among the students from Turda who opted for one of the German universities, like in the case of their fellow-townsmen encountered in other university centres. Only two scholars went to two such centres: Debreczeni Joseph studied philosophy in Zurich (1870-1871) and then in Berlin (1871-1872) and Wiski Julius studied theology at Marburg (1892-1893) and then in Berlin (1893).

The first student of the period subject to our analysis was Kasza Daniel. He studied theology at the University of Berlin between 13 April 1853 and 12 July 1854 and he came from a family with a good social position, his father being a lawyer.¹⁸ Unfortunately, at the current stage of research, no other information about his life and activity is available.

About the second student from the analysed period, the data are more numerous and conclusive. This was Rediger Arpad (13 March 1836-28 March 1894). He came from a family with financial possibilities, his father being a landowner. Arpad belonged to the Unitarian confession. He enrolled in the Faculty of Theology at the University of Göttingen on 20 November 1860.¹⁹ We know that he returned to Transylvania, where he carried out his activity as a priest (dean, archdeacon) of the Unitarian community of Târnăveni (at that time, Târnavă Mică County, today Mureş

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 372.

¹⁷ Walter Rüegg, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

¹⁸ Szögi László, *Magyarországi Diákok Németországi Egyetemeken és főiskolákon 1789-1919*, Budapest, 2001, p. 81 (hereinafter *Magyarországi Diákok Németországi Egyetemeken*).

¹⁹ *Magyarországi Diákok Németországi Egyetemeken*, p. 240; Kovács Sándor, *A Magyar Unitárius Peregrinatio Academica Vázlatos Története* in Keresztény Magvető, 2009/4, p. 566.

County). Rediger Arpad distinguished himself particularly as a philanthropist, making numerous donations. Thus, in 1875 he donated, together with the priests from the Unitarian parishes in his suborder, the sum of 3 florins and 62 crowns for the David Ferencz Foundation, representing the amount of money collected from the parishioners on Christmas day 1874.²⁰ This man did not forget about his native places, since in 1875, as the Unitarian Archdeacon of Târnava, he donated 14 florins for building the Unitarian secondary school in Turda.²¹ He also was part of the Supervisory Board of the construction of this school.²² In 1880, Rediger Arpad chaired a Unitarian assembly of Târnava Mică County, where issues related to education and ecclesiastical life were discussed.²³ The prelate from Turda was a founding member of the David Francisc Foundation, donating 10 florins thereto, in 1888.²⁴ He died in Târnăveni in 1894.

The Turda-born Debreczeni József studied philosophy in Berlin (1871-1872). He was born in 1844 and before his Berlin stage, he began his educational training at the college from Aiud and at the Reformed College in Cluj, prestigious secondary education institutions from Transylvania. The young man from Turda had a predilection for letters and the law. Debreczeni József began his activity as a primary teacher at the Reformed College in Cluj and, with the support of this institution, he was sent to study abroad in 1870. Thus, in a first stage, Debreczeni went to Switzerland, where he studied philosophy at the University of Zurich between 22 October 1870-31 July 1871.²⁵ Subsequently, Debreczeni József continued his study of philosophy at the University of Berlin between 22 July 1871-18 July 1872.²⁶ In the Berlin University, he also served as President of the Hungarian Students at this higher education institution. In 1872 he returned to Transylvania, being appointed Professor of Natural Sciences at the Reformed College in Cluj, a position that he held until his death. Debreczeni József's work was not confined to teaching, as he also carried out social-scientific work. From this point of view, in 1876 he was a member of the Transylvanian Museum Society, the medicine and natural sciences department.²⁷ He was editor of the magazine published by the Reformed high school from Cluj, *Bulletin (Ertesítőjét)*. Debreczeni József died at Cluj on 14 January 1883, at the age of only 39 years.²⁸

²⁰ *Keresztény Magvető*, 10 köt, (1875), 3 füzet, p. 201.

²¹ *Keresztény Magvető*, 10 köt, (1875), 4 füzet, p. 279.

²² *Keresztény Magvető*, 24 köt, (1889), 3 füzet, p. 172.

²³ *Keresztény Magvető*, 15 köt, (1880), 2 füzet, p. 137.

²⁴ *Unitárius Közlöny*. A vallásos és Erkölcsös Élet Ébresztésére Kiadja a Dávid Ferencz Egylet, Kolozsvárt, 1888, p. 25.

²⁵ Szögi László, *Magyarországi Diákok Svájci és Hollandiai Egyetemeken 1789-1919*, Budapest, 2000, p. 98.

²⁶ *Magyarországi Diákok Németországi Egyetemeken*, p. 92.

²⁷ *Orvos-Természettudományi Értesítő* II. Természettudományi Szak a Kolozsvári Orvos-Természettudományi Társulat és az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet Természettudományi Szakosztályának szakuléseiről és népszerű természettudományi estélyeiről, 6, vol. 3, no. 1, 1881, p. 157.

²⁸ Szinnyei József, *Magyar Írók. Élete és munkái*, 2 Kötet, Budapest, 1893, p. 703; *Orvos-Természettudományi Értesítő* I. Orvosi Szak, 8, vol. 5, no. 1, 1883, p. 72; *Keresztény Magvető*, 18 köt, (1883), 1 füzet, p. 75.

In the transcripts of the University of Berlin there also appears the name of Bornemisza Karl (Karolyi). Interestingly, he is recorded as having been born in Turda, even though his birthplace was another. The man in question was born on 26 November 1840, at Apalina (today a part of the town of Reghin, Mureş County, which, at that time, was a part of the county of Turda). The erroneous reference to Turda as his birthplace was due, of course, to the one who filled out the academic transcript, as he was not familiar with the administrative realities of Transylvania. Returning to this student, we consider that he deserves being presented. Karolyi was a member of the famous noble family Bornemisza²⁹ and he studied at the University of Berlin from 12 October 1880 until 6 August 1881, at the Faculty of Theology. He returned to Transylvania, settling in Solnoc-Dăbâca County, where most of his estates were found. He was actively involved in political life and in 1887 he represented the town of Târgu Lăpuş in the Budapest Parliament. In 1890, he was appointed Comes of Solnoc-Dăbâca, resign from this post in April 1902. Bornemisza Karolyi was a member of the Roman Catholic Status in Transylvania and Head of the Hungarian Railways, in the sector between Jibou and Baia Mare. From the point of view of social science activities, Bornemisza Karolyi was a member of the Transylvanian Museum Society, the Philosophy department, being mentioned as such from 1907 on. The 1911 lists of members of the Transylvanian Museum Society refer to Bornemisza Karolyi as deceased. He was married to Mikes Etelka and had two sons: Karolyi, who briefly took over his mandate as deputy of Târgu Lăpuş, and Elemér, who was deputy of Cehu Silvaniei between 1905-1910.³⁰

One of the most important personalities of Unitarian confession in Turda was Varga Adalbert (23 October 1886-10 April 1942). He came from a family with strong Unitarian traditions, his father being headmaster of the Unitarian gymnasium in Turda. He began his studies in Turda, and then entered the University of Cluj. Between 8 June 1906 and 7 August 1906, he studied philosophy at the University of Berlin.³¹ After his Berlin stage, the young Adalbert also studied at the Universities of Leipzig and Ghent. Following the studies he completed, Adalbert became a fine intellectual, active in the fields of theology, philosophy and pedagogy, and obtaining a PhD in Philosophy. In 1911, he became a professor at the Unitarian secondary school in Cluj, and in 1915 he became a professor at the University of Cluj, holding the chair of Logic. After the union of Transylvania with Romania, he carried out his activity at the Unitarian Theological Academy, where he taught courses of theology and philosophy. In 1926 he specialised himself in theology at the Universities Oxford and Manchester.³² Varga Adalbert was appointed Unitarian Bishop of Transylvania, pastoring from 16 January 1938 until 7 November 1940. As a result of his scientific merit, in 1939 he was elected as a Corresponding Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. During the Horthyst occupation, he returned as a professor at

²⁹ In Romanian translation, this name means *the one who does not drink wine*.

³⁰ *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet évkönyvei*, 1907, p. 105; *Az Erdélyi Múzeum-Egylet évkönyvei*, 1911, p. 141; Pál Judit, *Erdélyi főispánok a Tisza-éra végén (1890-91)* II in *Korunk*, series 3, year 20, April 2009, pp. 70, 74-75.

³¹ *Magyarországi Diákok Németországi Egyetemeken*, p. 152.

³² Kovács Sándor, *op. cit.*, p. 571.

the re-established Hungarian University of Cluj, relinquishing the episcopate. He taught a course in pedagogy at the Faculty of Arts, Languages and Historical Sciences at the Hungarian University of Cluj.³³

The artistic concerns, though rare, were not entirely absent from the concerns of the young scholars from Turda. In this field, the one who made a nice career was the Turda-based Apáti Abt Sándor, born on 14 January 1870. His parents were Apáti Abt Jenő and Vilma. The young man became an important Hungarian sculptor and ceramist in the early 20th century. He studied at the School of Applied Arts in Budapest and at the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich, where he was mentioned on 15 October 1889. From his university transcripts, we learn that the young man from Turda was 19 years old and was of the Roman Catholic confession.³⁴ After graduation, between 1893 and 1896, Sándor worked alongside Stróbl Alajos, one of the greatest sculptors of the period, and he later designed the Zsolnay factory in Pécs. From 1908 until his death (1916), he worked as a Professor at the School of Applied Arts in Budapest. He distinguished himself as a creator of fine ceramic art and decorative art, creating jewellery as well. One of his important works is the bust of the industrialist Zsolnay Vilmos (the owner of a porcelain factory), inaugurated in Pécs in 1907. The sculptor and ceramist from Turda died in Budapest, during World War I, on 23 March 1916.³⁵

Unfortunately for the rest of the students from Turda who went to Germany, the data are missing and we do not know what their postgraduate career was or any other information about their life and work, except what is recorded in the university transcripts. In what follows, we shall present them as they appear in the documents of the universities where they studied. Wiski Julius belongs to this category. He studied theology initially at Marburg (24 October 1892-6 March 1893) and then in Berlin (26 April 1893-14 July 1893). According to the transcript from Marburg, he was born in Turda on 18 April 1870, and he studied at the secondary schools from Cluj and Târgu Mureș.³⁶ Viski Eugen, a relative of his, studied natural sciences at the University of Jena, where he was recorded on 7 May 1908. About him, the academic transcript mentions that he was 21, so he was born in 1887, and that he had also studied at the Universities of Cluj and Budapest.³⁷

Kálmán Johann studied philosophy in Berlin between 17 April 1913-14 March 1914, also attending the University of Cluj.³⁸ Molnár Adalbert, the son of a primary teacher from Turda, studied theology at Jena, where he was recorded on 24 October 1867 at the age of 24 years (so he was born in 1843). It is known that he had attended the gymnasium in Aiud.³⁹ Somkerei Nicolaus studied theology at Marburg (1867-1868).

³³ *Unitárius Közlöny*, XLVIII évf. Cluj-Kolozsvár, 1938 február, 2 szám, pp. 26-29; Jakubinyi György, *Romániai Katolikus, Erdélyi Protestáns és Izraelita Vallási Archontológia*, Kolozsvár: Verbum, 2010, p. 139; Ovidiu Ghitta (ed.), *Istoria Universităţii "Babeş-Bolyai"*, Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Mega, 2012, pp. 189-190.

³⁴ *Magyarországi Diákok Németországi Egyetemeken*, p. 665.

³⁵ Information about the life and work of Apáti Abt Sándor has been taken from the site: http://nevponth.hu/content/publikacio/Apati_Abt_Sandor.html accessed on 1 July 2014.

³⁶ *Magyarországi Diákok Németországi Egyetemeken*, pp. 116, 435.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 367.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 184.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 351.

The transcripts of the German university attest that he was born in Turda on 6 February 1841 and that he had attended the gymnasium in Târgu Mureş.⁴⁰ Tóth Ladislaus studied theology also in Marburg, 2 November 1888 and 3 August 1889. He was born in Turda on 3 November 1860 and attended the gymnasium in Târgu Mureş.⁴¹

Based on the records of academic transcripts, we can acquire a conclusive idea of the social environment from Turda, the students' birthplace. As a general finding, we should note that they were members of wealthy families, as in the cases of Kasza Daniel, whose father was a lawyer, Bornemisza Karl, a member of the homonymous noble family, whose father was a great landowner and a renter, and of Rédiger Árpád, whose father was also a landowner. There were also cases of young people from Turda who came from middle-class townsmen (craftsmen, teachers, officials): Debreczeni Joseph's father was a craftsman, Kálmán Johann's father was a blacksmith, Wiski Julius's father was a clerk, while the parents of Varga Adalbert, Molnár Adalbert and Somkereki Nicolaus were professors/teachers. Tóth Ladislaus was the son of an architect. Viski Eugen's father was deceased at the time his son registered at the University of Jena, while about the father of Apáti Abt Alexander we have no data.

If we were to analyse the confessional situation of the students from Turda, we would encounter a series of difficulties compared to other periods, because the academic transcripts no longer always recorded the students' religion. This aspect can be ascertained based on their future careers, where data are available in this regard. Thus, religion cannot be ascertained for four students from Turda, but for eight of them, their confessional option is clear: three Protestants (Somkereki Nicolaus, Molnár Adalbert and Debreczeni Joseph), two Roman Catholics (Bornemisza Karl and Apáti Abt Alexander), two Unitarians (Rédiger Árpád and Varga Adalbert) and an Evangelical Lutheran (Tóth Ladislaus). This religious statistic is conclusive for the religious landscape of Turda, dominated, since the 16th century, by pluri-confessionalism.

From an ethnic vantage point, it should be noted that all the students from Turda who went to Germany to study were Hungarians, all the other elements specific to Turda (Romanians, Jews, Armenians) being altogether absent from such universities. This brings to mind their other academic preferences, demonstrating the dynamism and the economic prosperity of the Hungarian community in Turda.

Conclusions. In the 19th century, the German space was one of the most dynamic in terms of higher education. This contributed to the development of higher education institutions that attracted students from the Austrian (Austro-Hungarian) monarchy. In the second half of the 19th century and in the early 20th century, the town of Turda was represented in the German universities by 12 students, all of them Hungarians, who opted, in general, for the study of theology and philosophy. The most frequented German university was the one in Berlin, other centres that received students from Turda being Marburg, Jena, Göttingen and Munich. Most of the students returned to Transylvania, even if not necessarily to their hometown, and they carried out their activity in the spirit of what they had studied in Germany.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 433.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 434.

Appendix.**Chronological list of the students from Turda at universities in Germany 1848-1918.**

No.	Name of the student	University	Field of study	Subsequent career
1	Kasza Daniel	Berlin (1853-1854)	Theology	
2	Rédiger Árpád	Göttingen (1860)	Theology	Unitarian priest at Târnăveni
3	Molnár Adalbert	Jena (1867)	Theology	
4	Somkerekí Nicolaus	Marburg (1867-1868)	Theology	
5	Debreczeni Joseph	Berlin (1871-1872)	Philosophy	Professor at the Reformed College in Cluj
6	Bornemisza Karl	Berlin (1880-1881)	Theology	Deputy of Târgu Lăpuș in the Parliament from Budapest, Comes of Solnoc-Dăbâca (1890-1902)
7	Tóth Ladislaus	Marburg (1888-1889)	Theology	
8	Apáti Abt Alexander	Munich (1889)-Academy of Fine Arts	Sculpture	Sculptor, ceramist, Professor at the School of Applied Arts in Budapest
9	Wiski Julius	Marburg (1892-1893) Berlin (1893)	Theology	
10	Varga Adalbert	Berlin (1906)	Philosophy	Professor at the Unitarian gymnasium in Cluj (1911), Professor at the University of Cluj (from 1915), Professor at the Unitarian Theological Academy (after 1918), Unitarian bishop of Transylvania (1938-1940), Corresponding Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (elected in 1939)
11	Viski Eugen	Jena (1908)	Natural sciences	
12	Kálmán Johann	Berlin (1913-1914)	Philosophy	

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THE COLLECTION OF FINE FAIENCE EARTHENWARE FROM THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF TRANSYLVANIAN HISTORY IN CLUJ-NAPOCA³

Abstract: This paper presents a series of fine faience pieces from the 19th century, forming a very interesting museum mini-collection. The objects of various shapes and sizes are succinctly described, their decorative, ornamental elements being attentively highlighted.

Keywords: patrimony, decorative art, fine faience, museum collections, 19th century.

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The patrimony of the National Museum of Transylvanian History in Cluj-Napoca boasts a rich *Collection of Decorative Art*, totalling hundreds of objects of patrimony made of ceramic, porcelain and glass, among which there stands out a series of fine faience pieces from the 19th century. Of uncertain provenance, the pieces came into the possession of the National Museum of Transylvanian History through donations (the *Vass Otilia Donation to the Transylvanian Museum Association* from 1924-1929, two pieces) or by transfer (the *Târgu Mureș Museum of Decorative Arts*, in 1943; the *Technical Museum*, in 1942). Of different shapes, sizes and purposes, what the vessels have in common is, above all, a dual colour palette, grey-white and cobalt blue, two benchmarks that impart a sober elegance to the vessels and artfully tone down their ornamental exuberance. Glazed, with relief decoration, the objects use colour as a background through ingenious games of fulls and voids, incisions and relief ornaments that highlight the contrast between the vivid, bright blue and the lustreless, dull grey. The decoration is extremely rich and varied, with geometric, vegetal and animal elements, with bands, elegant volutes or sober metopes, with mascheroni and antiquated heads, with inscriptions of Gothic inspiration and bas-reliefs featuring an intriguing iconography, with rosettes, arabesques and vegetal garlands supported by processions of putti. The harmonious shapes and the dynamic balance between the composite decor and the sobriety of the colours give these vessels a special elegance that sets them apart (C.M.B.). The German mini-collection of fine faience from the 19th century contains 19 pieces:

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³ A summary of this study was popularised in the review *Magazin Istoric*, 2/2014, pp. 55-56.

1. Chalice with lid⁴ (Fig. 1).

Faience, receding circular foot, cylindrical body, lid with a heightened knob. Decor in white relief against a cobalt blue background, in the shape of a roll that unfolds around the vessel, depicting historicised scenes, in alternation with texts in German. The texts with Gothic characters are incised on white slabs framed by arches of Gothic inspiration and they are rhythmically adorned with a vegetal motif consisting of three vine leaves between the arcades (C.M.B.).

2. Water tank with lid⁵ (Fig. 2).

Faience, rectangular tank, with four side volutes arranged in a 2-2 subsiding tandem, supporting two female antiquated heads in the corbel. The piece shows a rectangular front panel, resting on mouldings and baguettes, decorated with vegetal, floral and animal motifs, clustered around a rosette in relief. On the side, there are featured decorative vegetal arabesques. At the bottom, the decoration consists of a medallion comprising a lion's head in relief, flanked by vegetal motifs; the lion's gaping mouth serves as the flow point for the tank. The lid, in the shape of a truncated cone, is adorned with depth glyphs and vegetal motifs, over which reigns the grip, in the shape of two addorsed fish, with twisted tails bounded by a trident in the middle (C.M.B.).

3. Decorative plate⁶ (Fig. 3).

Faience, edge decorated in relief with human figures integrated into a stylised vegetal composition against a cobalt blue background. The well is defined by two bands in relief, one featuring the twisted rope motif and the other displaying entwined oval ornaments. At the centre there is depicted a scene with four mythological characters, placed in a rich natural setting, from which a castle may be seen (O.M.).

4. Decorative plate⁷ (Fig. 4).

Faience, decorated broad edge, with embossed decoration of leaves, stalks and flowers against a cobalt blue background, alternating with twelve oval recesses. At the centre, against a more intense background of colour, there is represented a medallion with stylised floral and geometric elements (O.M.).

5. Decorative plate⁸ (Fig. 5).

Faience, margin incised with a cobalt blue geometric composition; the well is marked with diagonal lines and the centre of the plate is incised with four floral medallions framing a stylised cross (O.M.).

⁴ D-mouth: 7.8 cm, D-base: 12.8 cm, H: 47.8 cm. Dating: 19th c.

⁵ Tank H: 32 cm, L: 24 cm, w: 11 cm; Lid H: 14.6 cm, L: 23.5 cm, w: 10.4 cm. Dating: 19th c.

⁶ D: 33 cm, H: 4 cm. On the back it has the series no. 765. Dating: 19th c.

⁷ D: 32 cm, H: 5 cm. On the back it has the series no. 755. Dating: 19th c.

⁸ D: 25.3 cm, H: 3 cm. On the back it has the series no. 753. Dating: 19th c.

6. Decorative plate⁹ (Fig. 6).

Faience, frame with circles, edge decorated with two flower models in alternation. The intensely coloured well is marked by a series of dots and a band consisting of entwined oval shapes and dots, and the field contains a flower with stylised petals, each being decorated symmetrically with three points in relief (O.M.).

7. Pitcher¹⁰ (Fig. 7).

Faience, pitcher with undulated grip and pedestal-type plinth. The grey-white decoration is highlighted against the cobalt blue background. An elegant, well-proportioned shape, its neck decorated with horizontal bands of geometric and vegetal motifs – buttons, glyphs, leaves and rosettes. The body of the vessel is decorated with stylised vegetal motifs (*fleur-de-lys*), arranged in long vertical registers, crowned by bands arched with volutes at the ends, decorated with simple incisions. The plinth-shaped bottom is also decorated with several horizontal bands, featuring geometric and vegetal motifs – buttons, glyphs, leaves and rosettes (C.M.B.).

8. Pitcher¹¹ (Fig. 8).

Faience, geometrical shape, spout, handle *accollé* adorned with bands and decorations in the shape of a twisted rope; receding circular bottom. The vessel features cobalt blue embossed ornaments on a predominantly grey-white background with a pearled texture. Dark blue horizontal bands finely punctuate the decoration consisting of bands decorated with geometric and vegetal ornaments, oblique flutes and simple strings. The body of the vessel is dominated by four medallions with embossed rosettes against a background of fine flutes, medallions punctuated by elongated vegetal ornaments, arranged in a mirror-image pattern (C.M.B.).

9. Pitcher¹² (Fig. 9).

Faience, predominantly white-grey background with blue embossed ornamentation. Handle *accollé* with stylised vegetal decoration, fine spout and flared circular bottom. The pitcher's neck is highly ornate, with bands featuring geometric and floral decorations, with ropes and flutes, in contrast with the sparse decorations on the body. Vegetal arabesques, slender stalks outline a stylish ornamental ensemble covering the body. At the base, a stylised band of palmettes makes the transition to the bottom, which is decorated with ribbons in two shades of blue, bands with buttons and geometric ornaments (C.M.B.).

10. Flower stand¹³ (Fig. 10).

Faience, circular bowl, resting on three solid corbel-type legs, in the decorative shape of a lion's paws. The decoration is featured on a broad frieze flanked by two mouldings with floral and geometric adornments. The mouldings, highlighted by

⁹ D: 24.5 cm, H: 3 cm. On the back it has the series no. 643. Dating: 19th c.

¹⁰ D-mouth: 8.4 cm, D-base: 11.7 cm, H: 38 cm. On the back it has the series no. 684. Dating: 19th c.

¹¹ D-mouth: 9.5 cm, D-base: 11.8 cm, H: 29.5 cm. On the back it has the series no. 635. Dating: 19th c.

¹² D-mouth: 8 cm, D-base: 10 cm, H: 28 cm. On the back it has the series no. 632. Dating: 19th c.

¹³ D-mouth: 21.8 cm, H: 15.8 cm. On the back it has the series no. 643. Dating: 19th c.

simple, dark blue ribbons, provide an elegant frame to the frieze, decorated with a series of four antiquated heads, two female and two male, between eight putti, arranged in pairs, holding rich floral garlands tied with ribbons. The base, slightly rounded, is decorated with simple flowers, flutes of different sizes and two mascheroni crowned with leaves, placed underneath the female heads. A graceful, slender shape (C.M.B.).

11. Flower stand¹⁴ (Fig. 11).

Faience, cylindrical vessel supported by a four-legged corbel, equipped with two handles accollé, surmounted by antiquated female heads. The wide lip is decorated with metopes containing geometric and vegetal ornaments in relief, white on bluish background, and bright blue oval embossed buttons. The decor of horizontal bands on the body alternates chromatically, grey-white with cobalt blue, combining, with maximum effect, the colour contrast and the ornamental layout: simple bright blue ribbons and grey-white heavily ornate bands, with geometric and vegetal decorations. At the bottom of the vessel's body there prevails a broad frieze laden with vegetal motifs, ribbons and free rectangular cartouches, each flanking two satyrs with banners on their shoulders, supporting, from the side, a medallion with a male portrait. The ornamentation is identical on both sides of the flower stand. The receding base of the vessel is decorated with two bands with geometric motifs and, respectively, with vegetal decorations in relief. The flower stand is equipped with a circular foot supported by four solid legs in the decorative shape of lion's paws. The foot is divided chromatically by the decoration, consisting of a wide, cobalt blue ribbon and a grey-white frieze with simple rectangular cartouches (C.M.B.).

12. Bowl with lid for storing tobacco¹⁵ (Fig. 12).

Faience, symmetrical decoration, with two medallions representing St. George slaying the dragon, surrounded by geometric elements, stalks, flowers and stylised birds. On the body are applied two lion heads in relief, each containing a clasping ring. The lid is decorated with geometric motifs, two dotted rows and blue petals, and the clasping knob is represented by a monkey that embraces a boot (O.M.).

13. Bowl with lid for storing tobacco¹⁶ (Fig. 13).

Faience, decor with claws on the three legs of the vessel, as well as with a composition of stylised leaves and flowers in relief, a row of dots and bands of great artistic refinement. The cover is decorated with two alternating patterns of embossed leaves against a blue background, and is fitted with a clasping knob in the shape of a stylised fir cone (O.M.).

¹⁴ D-mouth: 29.3 cm, D-base: 19.2 cm, H: 29 cm. Dating: 19th c.

¹⁵ D-base: 12 cm, H: 20.5 cm. On the back it has the series no. 884. Dating: 19th c.

¹⁶ D: 15 cm, H: 18.5 cm. On the back it has the series no. 751. Dating: 19th c.

14. Flower stand¹⁷ (Fig. 14).

Faience, massive shape with a wide, straight, grey-white rim, decorated with an embossed band, with an ancient Greek, cobalt blue wave. The body of the vessel is decorated with a bundle of baguettes symbolically bound with simple, crossing platbands, underneath which there unfolds a broad frieze with acanthus leaves, punctuated by stalks, each surmounted by three fleurs-de-lys, with cups arranged one above the other, in a subsiding pattern. The slightly flaring base features a decorative band consisting of elegantly knotted ovate shapes, with small rosettes inside (C.M.B.).

15. Flask-shaped container¹⁸ (Fig. 15).

Faience, missing handles, narrow neck with successive flutes, geometric decoration along the edge, with pairs of ornamented triangles, symmetrically flanking, from the side, a human figure in relief. The foot is decorated with string of entwined ovate shapes and dots, and on each flattened side of the vessel there is represented a stylised leaf medallion (O.M.).

16. Pitcher¹⁹ (Fig. 16).

Faience, white embossed decoration against a cobalt blue background, circular foot, handle accollé, spout. The neck of the flask is very ornate, with a number of bands with geometric motifs, flanked by fringes of white embossed buttons. Two simple blue ribbons confer heightened chromatic dramatism to the decoration, also marking the portion where the vessel's body is joined with the elegant handle. The body of the vessel is decorated with a band of geometric ornaments, underneath which lies the predominant decoration, featuring a series of five large rosettes with buttons, punctuated by ornaments accollé placed in a mirror-image pattern, winding contours in tune with the special shape of the handle (C.M.B.).

17. Chalice with lid²⁰ (Fig. 17).

Faience, receding circular foot, lid with knob adorned with blue ribbons and bands of buttons. An eclectic, cobalt blue decoration against a predominantly white background, bands with geometric and vegetal ornaments, pearlescent buttons and simple, cobalt blue ribbons border the wide frieze on the neck, containing two pearled medallions charged with a coat of arms, the medallions being surrounded by small string-shaped elements and flanked by two groups of three floral ornaments each. Flanked by two branches, the quartered shield-type coat of arms is surmounted by two front-facing birds, between which the year 1574 is engraved. The middle of the chalice is marked by a decoration with six embossed buttons in the shape of lion heads, punctuated by floral rosettes. The lion heads correspond, in a mirror, to four shells embossed on the foot of the chalice. The rosettes and the lion heads represent

¹⁷ D-mouth: 38 cm, D-base: 19.5 cm, H: 25.5 cm. Dating: 19th c.

¹⁸ D-mouth: 3.4 cm, D-base: 5.5 cm, H: 15.8 cm. Dating: 19th c.

¹⁹ D-mouth: 7.3 cm, D-base: 9.7 cm, H: 22 cm. On the back it has the series no. 668. Dating: 19th c.

²⁰ D-mouth: 7.5 cm, D-base: 10.2 cm, H: 31.5 cm. On the back it has the series no. 402. Dating: 19th c.

the starting points for long geometric ornaments, extending vertically to the bottom of the vessel. The foot of the chalice is decorated with three wide friezes containing geometric and floral ornaments, bordered by bands of buttons and simple, cobalt blue ribbons (C.M.B.).

18. Beer tankard²¹ (Fig. 18).

Faience, receding circular foot, adorned with two friezes and a series of decorative bands with geometric motifs. The top part is occupied by a historicised frieze, a rather confused amalgam of scenes, arranged in three metopes that depict different scenes. Illegible inscription, because of the poor quality of the die. The second frieze conveys a series of simple oval, two-colour cartouches, arranged in a contrastive, grey/blue pattern, punctuated by vertical geometric ornaments. Both friezes are framed by two string-type bands and are preceded by an embossed circular band, decorated with in-depth embossed circular medallions that adorn the tankard around the lip and at mid-level. The base of the tankard is decorated with a concave band decorated with geometric motifs, flanked by two simple, cobalt blue ribbons, accompanied by double tori. The simple, undecorated handle, with a loop at the base, is damaged, broken and glued in the upper part (C.M.B.).

19. Big pitcher²² (Fig. 19).

Faience, circular foot, large size. The vessel is fitted with a handle accollé and a spout adorned with a mascheron on the outside. The intricate decoration features circular friezes arranged in horizontal registers, separated by bands of ribbons, tori, twisted ropes or vegetal friezes. The high neck is decorated with a row of six rosettes, followed, at the base of the neck, by a frieze consisting of elongated diamonds with rosettes at the corners; a reticular ornament completes the decorations in this part of the vessel. The body is dominated by a historicised frieze showing the individual portraits of seven male characters, rendered in the space delimited by columns of leaves, with rosettes at the ends. The base of the vessel shrinks elegantly amid a background consisting of elongated ovate shapes and fine ribbons (C.M.B.).

²¹ D-mouth: 8.5 cm, D-base: 11.6 cm, H: 19.8 cm. Dating: 19th c.

²² D-base: 17 cm, H: 62 cm. Dating: 19th c.



Fig.1



Fig.2



Fig.3



Fig.4

**Fig.5****Fig.6**



Fig.7



Fig.8



Fig.9

**Fig.10****Fig.11**



Fig.12

**Fig.13****Fig.14**



Fig.15



Fig.16



Fig.17

**Fig.18**



Fig.19

ROMANIA AND BALKAN GEOPOLITICS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY

Abstract: Aromanians, Megleno-Romanians and Istro-Romanians have served, to this day, as proofs of the existence of Oriental Romanity in a part of Europe which has suffered, throughout time, transformations that have substantially modified the Roman heritage of the area. In the mid-19th century, the young Romanian State became ever more interested in the communities of Aromanians from the Ottoman Empire, considered to be part of the pool of Romanianness in the Balkans. Through the church and the school institutions, the authorities in Bucharest attempted to preserve the ethnocultural identity of these “Romanians south of the Danube,” who were subject to a process of assimilation, characteristic of modern times. At the beginning of the 20th century, the nationalism promoted by the political power holders, the expansionist projects, the influence of the Great Powers, which were interested in the area, transformed the Balkans into a field of ethnic conflicts.

Keywords: Balkans, Romanian foreign policy, Aromanians, Hellenisation, confessional identity, 1900-1914.

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The prisoner of clichés that have been intensively circulated in postmodernity, the Balkan world of the early 20th century can be imagined, from the vantage point of international relations, as a mirror that can accurately convey the shaping of Europe’s geopolitical map. All the major power holders of the old continent were involved, in one way or another, in the destiny of this peninsula, which by that time was only nominally placed under Ottoman tutelage.

There existed, in effect, a pseudo-discreet,² yet effective and lasting alliance between Britain and Greece, which made its debut under the sign of romanticism, during the anti-Ottoman uprisings from the 1820s, when, attracted by the glorious scent of ancient Hellas, the famous poet Byron passed away during the terrific Greek resistance from Mesolonghi. For the United Kingdom, a strong Greece, receptive to the English advances, ensured practically Albion’s strategic position in the Eastern Mediterranean and in the Straits, as an alternative to the Ottoman Empire, whose dissolution had been underway for centuries. The “sick man of Europe” had been

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² Albion had played a considerable role in Thessaly being ceded to Greece in 1881, just like in 1864, when the British troops had evacuated the Ionian Islands, offering them to Greece. Daniela Buşă, *Modificări politico-teritoriale în sud-estul Europei între Congresul de la Berlin şi Primul Război Mondial (1878-1914)*, Bucureşti: Paideia, 2003, p. 70. The strategy formulated by Salisbury in 1878, according to which “the Turkish downfall and the Greek ascent must go hand in hand” was faithfully observed until the beginning of the 20th century. N. Ciachir, *Istoria popoarelor din sud-estul Europei în epoca modernă (1789-1923)*, Târgovişte: Ed. Cetatea de Scaun, 2011, p. 223.

clinically dead for a long time, but was resuscitated whenever needed, as it happened repeatedly during the 19th century, when the Empire from the East would have succumbed to various external military blows, had it not been for its Western allies. After 1878, the Ottoman Empire became a semi-colony, whose formal independence was supported by the Western states, which were had an economic and strategic interest in its territorial evolution. After 1878, the Ottoman sultan lost Tunis to France, Greece added Thessaly to its territory in 1881, England occupied Egypt in 1882, Bulgaria conquered Rumelia in 1885, and Crete was *de facto* liberated from Ottoman control in 1897.³

Another problem which further complicated the internal situation of the already fragile Ottoman construction was represented by the Macedonian matter. Macedonia encapsulated *in nuce* all the problems of the Balkans: the antagonism of the great powers, the struggle for the supremacy of the Christian element, the Islamic element, and the religious, military, economic and administrative problems. Its highly heterogeneous ethnic composition led to this territory being claimed by all the surrounding states. For Greece, Macedonia became the very *raison d'être* of its foreign policy.⁴ For Bulgaria, the Archbishopric of Ohrid, the Slavonic heritage and the majority ethnic representation in the territory represented targets of national interest. Driven by the dream of having access to the Aegean Sea and of territorial compensations for the Serbian provinces in Austria-Hungary, Serbia had also launched an annexation plan.⁵ The Romanian State became involved in the territory because it was inhabited by a population it claimed pertained to it and also because it was interested in maintaining the status quo in the Balkans. In 1903, a bitter revolt of the Christian, especially Bulgarian-speaking population broke out in the area of eastern Macedonia, known as the "Ilinden Uprising," against the Ottoman administration. The violent intervention of the authorities determined the involvement of the Great Powers and the organisation of the Macedonian reform plan, stipulated in the Mürzsteg Agreement of the same year. At this meeting between Tsar Nicholas II and Franz Joseph, there were laid the foundations of an understanding on the Balkan question. As regards Macedonia, it was stipulated that the area should be placed under the control of an international gendarmerie body and that the administrative borders should be redrawn so as to get districts with higher ethnic homogeneity. The reforms were to be implemented by the representatives of the five interested powers.⁶

³ Constantin Velichi, "Imperiul Otoman și statele din Balcani între 1878-1912", in *Studii și articole de istorie*, vol. XV, București, 1970, p. 173.

⁴ Barbara Jelavich, *Formarea statelor naționale 1804-1920*, Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1999, p. 210.

⁵ In 1905, during a meeting of Serbian diplomatic corps, there were established the coordinates of Belgrade's Balkan policy in relation to Romania. The following decisions were reached: "We cannot have anything against the Romanian success in Macedonia, given our own and their position in relation to Bulgaria and the Bulgarian cause in Macedonia. We should maintain ourselves in reserve as regards the Romanian-Greek dispute, waiting for the right moment so that we may use their success as a precedent. The most cordial relations should be cultivated with Romania, considering our policy towards it, as a means of exerting pressure on Bulgaria." Miodrag Ciurușchin, *Relații politico-diplomatice ale României cu Serbia în perioada 1903-1914*, Timișoara: Editura Mirton, 2010, p. 68.

⁶ Douglas Dakin, *The Greek Struggle in Macedonia 1897-1913*, Salonic: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1966, pp. 111-116.

The map of the Balkans should not be viewed strictly from a political perspective, as the confessional configuration of the region complicated its geopolitical make-up, shuffling and reshuffling the camps according to their spiritual affinities. The ethnic entities in the Balkan Peninsula that were under the umbrella of the Ottoman Empire were not recognised as such, from a linguistic or racial perspective, and solely religious divisions were functional. The “millet” formula revolved, thus, around a religious denomination, as besides the Orthodox millet, there was also an Armenian, a Mosaic, a Catholic and a Protestant one. The Orthodox Christians in the empire were placed under canonical obedience to the Ecumenical Patriarch. The institution, which was actually a legacy of the Byzantine period, was accepted by the sultan caliph, who bestowed the title of political head to the millet of the Ecumenical Patriarch. This political position, added to the ecclesiastical dignity of Constantinople’s bishop and his suffragans, was to generate a series of exclusive temptations that would prove detrimental to ecumenicity: Graecisation/Hellenisation became an objective pursued with increasing obstinacy and this caused inevitable tensions within the Orthodox communities. The two neighbouring empires were to take advantage of this situation, fuelling the dissensions inside the so-called Balkan “powder keg.”

Tsarist Russia exerted the most constant influence in the area, appropriating the thesis of the third Rome; the successor of Byzantium’s autocracy imposed itself as the protector of the Orthodox subjects in the Ottoman Empire after the Peace of Küçük Kaynarca. The halo of Russian Orthodoxy in the Balkans embraced, in practice, the Panslavist tendencies that justified Petersburg’s geopolitical strategy of acquiring access to the warm seas where internal resistance was the weakest. After the Peace of Berlin, the role of Russia in the Balkans envisaged regaining some positions of power in the Orthodox world, lost after the Crimean War. The emergence of the independent Serbian State was the first conquered redoubt, although Russia would have to deal with the duplicitous position of the Obrenović dynasty, whose members, for economic reasons (a trade that was dependent on the Austrian Monarchy), were not to be found among the Tsar’s allies, especially in around the year 1903. That year, through the coup d’état and the coming to power of the Karađorđević dynasty and of Nikola Pašić as Prime Minister, Serbia made a 180 degree turn and became a faithful ally of Russia’s plans for the Balkan reconquista.

Even if Russia put on the image of a protectress of all the Orthodox in the Balkans, it actually posed, above all, as the defender of the Slavic populations in the area. This is an extraordinarily important nuance if we are to understand the distribution of the actors in this peninsula and the adroit use of the Orthodox motivation therein. The Bulgarian case is representative in this regard. The emergence of the Bulgarian Exarchate in 1870 produced the first schism within the Orthodox Church, the Patriarchate of Constantinople anathematising, on this occasion, the entire clergy, as the adepts and promoters of the break from the Mother Church, who were accused of serious violations against the church canons through their so-called Phyletist heresy, theorised in a synod in 1871. In this context, Russia’s role was to prove decisive. St. Petersburg’s plan was to encourage the union of the South Slavs,

in the timespan 1850-1863, Belgrade becoming the centre of the initiative to support the Bulgarian irredenta in the Ottoman Empire.⁷ As Jovan Ristić stated, Serbian policy “made no distinction between the Serbs and the oppressed Bulgarians,” and the first Bulgarian textbooks were printed in Kragujevac and Belgrade with the help of the local authorities.⁸ The breaking point for the Serbians and the Bulgarians was the year 1878, when the Russian influence in the Balkans led to the emergence of a new Slavic state, in the wake of the Treaty of San Stefano: Greater Bulgaria, covering over 160,000 square kilometres, a satellite state of Russia, which could thus get very close to the much coveted Straits. Tsarist diplomacy relied on the Bulgarians in settling the Oriental question, especially after having also secured, as mentioned above, the religious dependence of this state through the creation, in 1870, of the Bulgarian Exarchate, a structure that was protected both diplomatically and hierarchically by St. Petersburg. The religious dependency of the Bulgarian Exarchate was also ensured through the annual provision of the Holy Myrrh.⁹ This act was a clear demonstration of the orthodox Russian jurisdiction over the Exarchate and of the disregard for the synodal decisions of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, considered to be too close to the interests of the Greek State. What should be noted is the consistency with which Russia managed, during the same period, to maintain good relations with the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Russian diplomacy skilfully speculated the moment, offering guarantees to the Patriarchate, so much so that the consequences of the schism remained entrenched within the borders of Exarchate and did not, as it would have been natural, spill over unto those who were in communion with the “Bulgarian schismatics,” namely the Russian Orthodox Church.

Russia played the Bulgarian card also because this exarchate complied better with the Panslavist policy than the Serbian metropolitanate in Belgrade, over which the quasi-autocephalic Patriarchate of Karlovitz exerted a damaging influence, of Austrian import, in Russia’s view. The beneficiary of outstanding prestige, this patriarchate had a Western influence on the political class in Serbia, which the Tsarist autocracy considered to be hardly amenable.

In its relations with Greece, Russia tried, without much success, to use the Orthodox umbrella, although its intentions were oriented, as shown above, towards the Panslavist horizon of the Balkans. On the other hand, the transfer of Byzantine symbolic power was deposited in the institution of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, a more than formidable ally for Greece, even though Russia had attempted to stir Greek dissent within the Ecumenical Patriarchate, by accepting an autonomous Greek church in 1830.¹⁰ Despite this fact, the unity of views between the state that was the first to acquire its independence in the Balkans and the Ecumenical Patriarchate was

⁷ N. Ciachir, *Istoria popoarelor...*, p. 161.

⁸ Jean Mousset, *La Serbie et son église 1830-1904*, Paris, 1938, p. 263.

⁹ *Istoria Bisericească Universală*, vol.II (1054-1982), Bucureşti: Editura Institutului Biblic, 1993, p. 485.

¹⁰ In 1850, St. Petersburg mediated the reconciliation between the Greek Church, declared schismatic, and the Ecumenical Patriarchate. As a result of the negotiations, the tomos of autocephaly was conferred to the Greeks that same year. Claudiu Cotan, *Ortodoxia şi mişcările de emancipare naţională din sud-estul Europei în secolul al XIX-lea*, Bucureşti: Ed. Bizantină, 2004, p. 184.

restored once the centre of power shifted from the secular to the ecclesiastical, that is, starting from the late 19th century, when Athens began to have a decisive say in the synod of Constantinople. At the same time, the linguistic and cultural assimilation campaigns of the Greek State towards the ethnic minorities on its territory (especially, of course, towards the Aromanians) escalated, their magnitude being directly proportional with the interest manifested by the Romanian State in this regard.

In Russia's relations with the Ottoman Empire, the former power officially recognised the existence of a population referred to, in reports, as the "Kutso-Vlachs," a "group of nomadic herdsmen" from the area of Macedonia and Thrace who spoke a Latin dialect that was very close to modern Romanian. Russia recognised the legitimacy of Romania's involvement in safeguarding their interests despite the opposition of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, which represented the interests of the Greek State in the area.¹¹ By this, Russia was endeavouring to improve its image before the political class in Romania and to undermine King Carol's alliance with the Central Powers. Russia was also interested in altering the Russophobe perception that had worsened in Romania especially after the Treaty of Berlin, given that the political class in Bucharest had turned the anti-Russian discourse into a common diplomatic agenda. The Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs himself, Sazonov, admitted in his memoirs that Russia's uninspired game towards Romania had politically driven the latter into the arms of the Triple Alliance.¹²

However, at the turn of the 20th century, Russia's prestige was strongly shaken by its own defeat by Japan, this failure downplaying the ambitions of ordering the Balkan world that the eastern colossus had nurtured.

Russia's competitor to achieving supremacy in the Balkans was the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which, impelled by its northern ally, powerful Germany, aimed to ensure easy access routes to the East through the economic outlets in this area. Maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, at least for a while, was to the political advantage of the Dual Monarchy. Then, given the annexation, in 1908, of Bosnia Herzegovina, Austria-Hungary's intentions of southward expansion were no longer a secret to the great powers. Vienna's move could be interpreted as a response to the paradigm shift in the foreign policy assumed by the Serbian State in 1903, when the pro-Austrian Obrenović dynasty was brutally removed and replaced with the Karađorđević dynasty, supported by Russia. Still, the latter protested formally only in 1908, during the annexation of Bosnia, showing that the alliance with Serbia had been circumstantial, and that, depending on the circumstances, Belgrade could be immediately abandoned.

Serbia's position in the Balkan equation was somewhat similar to that of Romania, as Belgrade had to manage a strong irredenta outside the borders of the country. Serbia tended to turn its attention north of the Danube, toward the regions controlled by Budapest, eastwards, towards Bosnia, Novi Pazar and even Dalmatia, with a substantial Serbian population under the administration of Vienna, but also to the Aegean, whose coastline could be reached through the annexation of Macedonia.

¹¹ S. D. Sazonov, *Fateful Years, 1910-1916. The Reminiscences of Serge Sazonov*, New York, 1928, p. 103.

¹² *Ibidem*, pp. 134-138.

The Serbian diplomacy was consistent in its pursuit of the so-called plan of Greater Serbia – *Nacertanije*, developed in 1844 by Ilija Garašanin, the counsellor of Prince Alexander Karadorđević, a plan which synthesised how the territories claimed by the Serbs could be annexed in the future. Garašanin's concept of the state targeted a predominantly Orthodox and Muslim union, which was to include Bosnia, Herzegovina, Kosovo, Montenegro and Vojvodina, as well as Northern Albania.¹³ In addition, the Dual Monarchy had begun to act ever more decisively to engage the Balkan states in its own area of influence, with the direct support of Germany, which virtually dictated the Treaty of Berlin, pointing Belgrade towards the northern neighbour. Baron Heymerle, the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs from the years 1879-1881, considered that, at first, the Austrian influence had to be primarily economic, being subsequently doubled by a political influence and attracting, thus, the Balkan countries, one by one, into the Austro-German alliance system.¹⁴ After a series of commercial treaties that placed Serbia in the position of an economic outpost for Austria, Milan Obrenović signed in Vienna, on 28 June 1881, a political convention whereby Austria-Hungary undertook to support the Obrenović dynasty in its attempt to proclaim the Kingdom of Serbia, which actually did happen in February 1882. Instead, Prince Milan had to give up any claims on Bosnia, Herzegovina, the Sanjak of Novi Pazar and the territories inhabited by the Serbs that were under Austrian rule.¹⁵ Thus, the Ball-Platz practically invited Belgrade to Macedonia, which the Serbs called Old Serbia, a province that was already under the confessional tutelage of the Exarchate. In 1885, the first inter-Slavic war of the modern period was occasioned by the union of Rumelia and Bulgaria. Austria-Hungary was in favour of this conflict, having driven Serbia to attack its neighbouring state for territorial compensations.¹⁶ The defeat suffered by the Serbian troops led to a change in the strategy for achieving Greater Serbia. In as early as 1879, the Ecumenical Patriarchate recognised the autocephalous nature of the Serbian Church, a gesture refused to the Bulgarians and still delayed to the Romanians. The attention granted by the high prelates of Constantinople was meant to encourage an opponent that aspired to be formidable in the face of the increasingly powerful propaganda orchestrated from Sofia.

Returning to Bulgaria, this state was also intensely courted at the turn of the 20th century by Austria-Hungary, which sensed that its Romanian partner was increasingly vulnerable in its alliance relationships and sought to counterbalance its influence in the Balkans. Then, the Germanic dynasty of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha was much more likely to draw closer to Vienna and Berlin than to St. Petersburg.¹⁷ Despite the exceptional service offered by Russia, as the Exarchate was to mark the

¹³ R. J. Crampton, *Europa Răsăriteană în secolul al XX-lea...și după*, București: Editura Curtea Veche, 2002, p. 32.

¹⁴ Bogdan Cătană, *Relațiile diplomatice Româno-Sârbe 1880-1913*, Craiova: Editura Universitaria, 2009, p.105.

¹⁵ Constantin Velichi, "Imperiul Otoman ..." p.13.

¹⁶ N. Ciachir, *Istoria popoarelor...*, p. 236.

¹⁷ Plamen Pavlov, Iordan Ianev, Daniel Cain, *Istoria Bulgariei*, București, 2002, pp. 111-118.

confessional emancipation on national grounds of most of the Slavs in the Ottoman Empire, the dynasty of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha in Bulgaria displayed a certain reserve towards Russia at the highest diplomatic levels, throughout this period, and its representative, King Ferdinand, was perceived as a “Swabian agent.”¹⁸ Eventually, however, he proved to be an astute speculator of the Russo-Austrian interests in the area. In January 1909, Austria-Hungary proposed a treaty stipulating that in the case of an Ottoman attack on Bulgaria, Vienna should undertake to defend Bulgaria against Serbia and to obtain Romania’s benevolent neutrality. Russia immediately intervened in these Turkish-Bulgarian talks and paid the entire Bulgarian debt to the Porte, much to the irritation of Aehrenthal, who immediately stopped the negotiations with Sofia.¹⁹ The geopolitical position occupied by the Bulgarian quasi-independent state entity at the beginning of the 20th century was particularly important as regards the perception of the Aromanian matter, from the vantage of the Balkan political games.

There were, at the level of the strategies deployed by Sofia and Bucharest, a series of similarities concerning the national emancipation from Ottoman rule of the Macedo-Bulgarian and Aromanian or Macedo-Romanian communities,²⁰ as they were known at that time. Like the Aromanians, the Bulgarians who were spread across the Vilayets of Thessaloniki and Monastir, as well as south of the Kossova Vilayet, more precisely in the area of the Uskub Sanjak, a territory that received the generic name of Macedonia,²¹ gradually began to aspire to self-determination. The Bulgarian ethnics were the subject of Greek propaganda and, to a lesser extent, of Serbian propaganda. The particularly strong influence of Greek spirituality in the Bulgarian community, channelled by some of the Patriarchist prelates toward a nationalist assimilationist purpose, alien to the canonical ecclesiastical spirit,

¹⁸ Andrew Rossos, *Russia and the Balkans: Interbalkan Rivalries and Russian Foreign Policy 1908-1914*, University of Toronto Press, 1981, p. 21.

¹⁹ S. Cristescu, *Carol I și politica României (1878-1912)*, București: Paideia, 2007, p. 327.

²⁰ The term was unfortunately wrong, despite the fact that it was the most commonly used at the time, generically designating the Romance peoples south of the Danube, more specifically, the groups of Aromanians and Megleno-Romanians from the Ottoman Empire, who were, in their overwhelming majority, concentrated at the periphery of the region known as Macedonia, comprising the Pindus Mountains, South Epirus and Central Albania.

²¹ As an administrative entity, Macedonia has never existed: it is basically a geographical area of outstanding strategic importance, which was the subject of the claims made by three neighbouring countries: Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece. From an administrative standpoint, Macedonia consisted of the following themata: Thessaloniki, Kassandra, Langaza, Kukuş, Doiran, Kavadarci, Stroumitza, Ghevgele, Voden, Enidje-Vardar, Kara-Feria, Katerina, Athos, Serres, Nevrocop, Zihna, Razlog, Demir-Hissar, Petrich, Melnik, Djumaia, Drama, Kavala, Sari-Chaban, Pravichta, Monastir, Perlepe, Ohrid, Kichevo, Florina, Gostivar, Kolonia, Starova, Kailari, Nasselitch, Grevena, Kojani, Selfidje, Elasona, Uskub, Kalkandelen, Koprulu, Tikves. Brancoff D., *La Macedoine et sa population chretienne*, Librairie Plon, Paris, 1905, p. 12. In nationalist speeches from south of the Balkans, the word Macedonia has become not only the name of a disputed region, but also a national symbol of identity, with a glorious past. Kakasidou Anastasia, *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood: Passages to Nationhood in Greek Macedonia 1870-1990*, London, 1997, p. 12. After all, the so-called geographical Macedonia overlaps almost perfectly with the territories that Bulgaria received from San Stefano but that were rejected by the Great Powers in Berlin; nonetheless, Bulgarian diplomacy has maintained its more or less official claims on these territories to this day.

engendered a similar evolution with that of the Aromanian problem. The permeation of the philhellene sentiment caused violent partitions within the Bulgarian community, dividing it into two antagonistic currents.²² Even so, the nation's spiritual unity was achieved by the already mentioned Exarchate, the structure that emerged in the mid-19th century in response to the Panhellenic ideology that had begun to guide the actions of the Patriarchate of Constantinople a century before.²³ With the abolition of the Serbian Patriarchate of Peč and the Bulgarian Archbishopric of Ohrid at the beginning of the second half of the 18th century, both the Serbs and the Bulgarians were imposed, in keeping with a quasi-secular model, a Greek hierarchy that launched the Hellenisation of religious books and, implicitly, of liturgical language, which determined a response of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, at first, along educational lines, through the establishment of secular schools that would double and counter the assimilationist efforts undertaken by the Greek prelates. However, Bulgarian nationalism was aware that without a church in the Slavonic language, the success of the emancipation struggle would be almost completely undermined, especially since only religious communities were recognised in the Ottoman Empire. Thus, for the first time in history, the sovereignty of the Ecumenical Patriarchate over the Orthodox millet was now being disputed. A form of additional pressure for the Patriarchist clergy consisted in the proselytising activities of the Catholics, who were willing to allow the Bulgarians an unrestricted use of Slavonic in worship and the ordination of Bulgarians bishops and priests.²⁴ The situation itself was considered extremely dangerous for Russia, which despite the constant support it had granted the Phanar, changed its strategy and provided decisive support for the foundation and recognition of the Bulgarian National Church,²⁵ by the royal edict of 28 February 1870.²⁶ In addition to establishing the first eparchies that were exclusively dependent on the exarchate, Article 10 of the edict offered the legal foundation for the creation of new bishoprics where at least two-thirds of Christians demanded a Bulgarian bishop.²⁷ Bulgarian Propaganda reached tremendous momentum after 1870, even though it was not backed by a state but by a Church, which actually represented a theocracy where

²² Dimitrie Ghyca, our consul in Thessaloniki, recounted in detail a typical situation for the civil war in the Balkans at the beginning of the 20th century, a situation encountered in most of the Aromanian and the Bulgarian communities. The incident Ghyca described had happened in the locality Gradobor, which had been set fire to by the Bulgarian komitadjis. Following the attack, the entire diplomatic corps accredited in Thessaloniki was invited by the Greek consul Caromilas to become aware of: "the terrible fate of the poor Greeks relentlessly assassinated by the Bulgarians." In reality, the village was entirely inhabited by Bulgarians who did not speak Greek, but many of them had remained faithful to the Orthodox rite that belonged to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, whereas the others had converted to the so-called schismatic confession of the Bulgarian Exarchate. Dimitrie Ghyca, *Memorii 1894-1940*, Iași, 2007, p. 69.

²³ Plamen Pavlov, Iordan Ianev, Daniel Cain, *Istoria Bulgariei*, București: Editura Corint, 2002, p. 109.

²⁴ Ghellose Lepide, *Macedoine indivisible devant le futur Congrès de la Paix*, Lausanne: Fritz Ruedi, 1918, p. 31.

²⁵ Thomas Meininger, *Ignatiev and the Establishment of the Bulgarian Exarchate 1864-1872*, Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1970, passim.

²⁶ Ghellose Lepide, *Macedoine...*, p. 33.

²⁷ A.M.A.E. Fund Problem 16, Volume I, pageless.

the spiritual leader also became the civil ruler, practically organising Greater Bulgaria. The majority of the Christians in Macedonia were placed under the authority of the Exarchate during the first years after its establishment, and the transition would have been almost complete (among the Bulgarians, of course) if the rebellion in Bosnia had not broken out, instigated by the Serbs,²⁸ who were supported by Austria, which, in turn, was interested in channelling Serbia's attention southwards. Ever since then, the Bulgarians have seen the Vlachs in Macedonia as their natural allies, placed, like the Bulgarians, under Hellenising ecclesiastical influence, with the Patriarchate from Constantinople as their common enemy.²⁹ Notwithstanding all this, the Romanian-Bulgarian cooperation did not take root, although there were cases when the members of some Aromanian communities enthusiastically passed under the tutelage of the Exarchate, as was the case of the church in Ohrid.³⁰ It is also worth mentioning, in the context of the above-mentioned cooperation, the proposal put forward by the Bulgarian leader Stambulov in 1885, after the abdication of Prince Battenberg, that a Bulgarian-Romanian dynastic union should be accomplished under the sceptre of King Carol I.³¹ Contrary to expectations, at the turn of the 20th century, there occurred a strong rift between Bucharest and Sofia, triggered by the assassination of the journalist Ștefan Mihăileanu, a well-known supporter of Romania's involvement in the Balkans, for supporting the Aromanians; Mihăileanu had been slain by the representatives of a paramilitary structure, with connections in the Bulgarian political circles.³²

At the beginning of the year 1908, Austria-Hungary announced its intention of building railways in the Balkans. This project, which was to link Sarajevo and Thessaloniki, was considered by the Russian press as an attempt at Germanising the Near East. What was thus violated was the spirit of the Münchener Agreement of 1903, which had tacitly approved the division of the Balkans into Russian and Austrian spheres of interests. The fact that the Sultan had approved the Austrian intentions under the irade of 1908 did not resolve the tension created, but led to a similar demand from Russia, that it should also build a railway linking the Danube to a port by the Adriatic. The two railways were to cross paths in the Sanjak of Novi Pazar, "proving the deep divergence between the two policies by which they were inspired."³³

Considering the balance of new relations in the Balkans, it is worth noting that the year 1908 was relevant from several points of view: in July there was the revolution of the Young Turks; on 15 September, in Büchl, Russia received the consent of Austria-Hungary that it should change the regime of straits;³⁴ in exchange,

²⁸ G. Bazhdarov, *The Macedonian Question Yesterday and Today*, Sofia, 1926, p. 5.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

³⁰ Ștefan Mihăileanu, "Biserica Românească din Ohrida," in *Primul Almanah Macedo-Român*, Constanța, 1900, pp. 130-138.

³¹ Gh. I. Brătianu, *Origines et formation de l'unité roumaine*, București, 1943, p. 264.

³² Alexandru Budiș, *Bulgaria: istorică, geografică, politică, economică, culturală, militară*, București: Casa Școalelor, 1943.

³³ Al. E. Lahovary, *Amintiri diplomatice*, București, 1936, p. 312.

³⁴ Daniela Bușă, *Modificări politico-teritoriale în sud-estul Europei între Congresul de la Berlin și Primul Război Mondial (1878-1914)*, București: Paideia, 2003, p. 220.

Vienna was given *carte blanche* in the Balkans, where, on 5 October 1908, Emperor Franz Joseph issued a rescript regarding the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.³⁵ Taking advantage of the situation, almost simultaneously, Prince Ferdinand proclaimed Bulgaria's independence as a state and crowned himself as tsar.³⁶ On 12 October, the local parliament in Crete sanctioned the union with Greece after a speech delivered by Venizelos.³⁷ In the Ottoman Empire, the tense situation forced Sultan Abdul Hamid to issue the irade for restoring the Constitution of 1876 and to announce forthcoming elections for a new parliament. This was the dawn of an era of democratic freedoms in which the Aromanians would win several key positions, including the right to be represented in the Ottoman Parliament.

Romania, the only state that did not have a common border with the Ottoman Empire, proposed a policy of intervention in the region, which was aimed at the protection and the cultural and spiritual preservation of the Aromanian communities, known at the time as Macedo-Romanians. During the reign of Carol,³⁸ the interest of the Romanian Kingdom in the Balkan Romanity witnessed its peak. In the period 1880-1904, there were set up consulates in Thessaloniki, Monastir and Ianina, whose main objective was the connection with the Aromanians in the area. There are historical interpretations arguing that the attention the Romanian authorities granted the Aromanian populations had been strategically directed and encouraged by Austria-Hungary, which was keen to redirect the Romanian foreign policy and public opinion away from the increasingly uncomfortable Transylvanian "irredenta" and towards the much farther and utopian horizon, in the view of some, of Balkan Romanianism.³⁹ Others explained Romania's intervention through the territorial advantages it would have benefited from thanks to its involvement (Silistra), while yet others noted that the young kingdom north of Danube wanted to dominate the Balkans by capitalising on the Aromanian issue.⁴⁰ Even if this assumption is justified as regards a section of the political elite in Bucharest, there prevailed a disinterested perspective at this political level which sought to ensure, at the height of a romantic age, the cultural-national renaissance of the "brothers south of the Danube." The Romanian cultural effort in the Balkans was eventually initiated by a number of personalities of Aromanian origin, who had immigrated to the space north of the Danube and who had managed, in the course of time, to hold key positions both in the

³⁵ Nicolae Ciachir, *Istoria popoarelor...*, p. 265.

³⁶ Al. Budiş, *Bulgaria...*, p.45.

³⁷ Constantin Iordan, *Venizelos şi Românii*, Bucureşti: Omonia, 2010, p. 23.

³⁸ Although the first Romanian schools were opened in the Balkans during Cuza's reign, the phenomenon gained momentum only with the coming of Carol to the country's throne.

* It should be noted that the Sultan's Decree of 1905 accepted, for the first time in history, the Ullah-Romanians as an ethnic community without their having their own church as a national institution.

³⁹ On 5 December 1905, Pallavicini, the head of the Austro-Hungarian Legation in Bucharest, addressed himself to Goluchowski, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Vienna, stating that the national unrest in Transylvania could be assuaged by shifting concern onto the problem of the Kutso-Vlachs, which, had it not already been created, it would be in the interest of the Monarchy to "discover." T. Pavel, *Mișcarea românilor pentru unitate națională și diplomația Puterilor Centrale*, Timișoara: Editura Facla, 1982, p. 210.

⁴⁰ N. Ciachir, *Istoria popoarelor...*, p. 226.

state apparatus (Anastasiu Panu, Alexandru Diamandi, Eugeniu Carada, Tache Ionescu, Gheorghe Manu) and in the cultural and economic life (Ioan Kalinderu, Ioan Caragiani, Dimitrie Cozacovici, Menelau Ghermani, Pericle Papahagi). When, in 1880, the Macedo-Romanian Cultural Society was set up as the ultimate representative authority for the Aromanian aspirations before the Romanian State and the national and European public opinion, the national movement south of the Danube began to coagulate and to issue, in ever more articulate manner, its desiderata of a particularly cultural-religious nature, weakening, in effect, the philhellene position of many Aromanians in Romania and in the Balkans. On this occasion, two divergent discourses – Romanian and Greek – were born within the same Macedo-Romanian community, regarding the issue of the South-Danubian Vlachs. It was the first time the Balkan Aromanian entity had found an alternative to the Hellenising process that had already been underway for centuries. The Romanian State did nothing more than provide a number of tools and means of opposition that, in the beginning, would cause a backlash among the rural Aromanian population, less affected by Hellenisation, which had caused major changes in their mindset and in the perception of their own Romance identity throughout history, profoundly changing the texture of their Greek national conscience, which had already developed sufficiently deep roots. However, there still existed an ethnic consciousness of the otherness of the Greek element, which was nonetheless blurred given its extraordinary ability to assimilate the Aromanian elite, a process that was beginning to climb down to the foundations of the social pyramid. Just when the Hellenising assimilationist process, fuelled along the confessional channel and reinforced by modern educational means, was about to level, once and for all, the ethnic composition of Northern Greece, Romania intervened with its “disturbing” action in the territory.

After the proclamation of the kingdom, the Romanian cultural action south of the Danube increased in intensity year by year, through the opening of new schools in the localities inhabited by Aromanians. There were also recorded a series of diplomatic attempts for the recognition of an autonomous episcopate in the Ottoman area. Romania, which had joined the Triple Alliance after 1883, focused its diplomatic efforts mainly towards preserving and protecting “the Macedonian Romanians,” managing, in 1905, to obtain their official recognition as a nation (millet) within the Ottoman State.⁴¹ The irade regulating the new state of affairs⁴² was the result of the intense diplomatic pressures the Bucharest officials placed on the Great Powers, especially on Russia and Germany. While the eastern neighbour was

⁴¹ Maria Todorova, *Balkanii și balcanismul*, București: Humanitas, 2000, p. 277.

⁴² Here is its content: “His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, who, with feelings of high justice and with parental care for His peoples, gives his blessings and favours to all His faithful subjects, irrespective of nation and religion, taking into account the prayers addressed to the imperial Throne by His Romanian subjects, has deigned to order that, based on the civil rights they enjoy, like the other Muslim subjects, their communities should be able to choose muftars, according to the regulations in force, as is customary for the other communities; the Romanian members should be received in the administrative councils; the imperial authorities should facilitate the teachers appointed by these communities to inspect their schools and to carry out the formalities required by the laws of the Empire for the opening of new school establishments.” Al. Lahovary, *Amintiri diplomatice...*, p. 62.

interested in supporting the Romanian initiative to “reject the well-known exertions undertaken by the Catholic propaganda in order to lay their hands on our coreligionists in Turkey,”⁴³ Germany saw things in a much more pragmatic light, since in exchange for its support it expected to receive from the Romanian government the concession for the exploitation of crude oil on an area of 30,000 hectares down the Prahova Valley, for the Deutsche Bank Consortium.⁴⁴

Unlike its Bulgarian and Serbian neighbours from the Balkans, Romania was more deeply integrated into an alliance that was hostile to the Russian Empire. In addition to this, after 1878 the Slavophobic sentiment had become ever more visible, both in the attitude of the Romanian governments and at the level of the public opinion. The Bessarabian matter had compromised any genuine rapprochement between the two states and produced animosities which produced real disservice for Romania in the Balkans. The ecclesiastical issue of the Aromanians would have had an altogether different destiny at the turn of the 20th century if the Russian-Romanian relations had been similar to the Russian-Bulgarian or Russian-Serbian relations. It should be noted that in the Balkans, Russia supported the use of national languages in the populaces’ own churches, a gesture that it ignored on its own canonical territory, where it obstinately refused this “privilege” even to the Orthodox, or the Romanians, in this case.

Amid the involvement of Romania in the Balkans, there occurred a series of diplomatic conflicts with the Greek State, which was rather alert to the Aromanians’ clamours, especially after the severance of diplomatic relations in the period 1892-1896.⁴⁵ The campaign of the paramilitaries backed by Athens against the Aromanian leaders in Macedonia inflamed the Bucharest diplomacy so much that after the issuance of the 1905 irade, there was a new rupture of diplomatic relations and these would be resumed only in 1911. In the early 20th century, Greece acted aggressively and provocatively in its diplomatic relations in the Balkans, causing a war with the Ottoman Empire and imposing major strains on the situation from Macedonia and Epirus, the latter representing yet another region that it claimed in full, without a numerical representation of the Greek element there.

The Albanians were the last nation that gained its autonomy; alongside the Aromanians, they are the oldest inhabitants of the Balkans. Ever since the late 19th century, Albanian immigration had found strong support in Bucharest, where there also appeared the project for an “Albanian-Romanian” (read Albanian-Aromanian) state for two “sister” nations. The idea might have seemed viable given the good geographical unity between the two ethnic entities, but the intervention of some of the neighbouring powers was to annihilate the envisaged confederation. The new Albanian State unsettled both the Serbian nationalist projects (through the dense

⁴³ The report of the Romanian Ambassador to Russia, from 9/22 March 1905, in Teodor Pavel, *Românii și rivalitatea germano-rusă 1905-1918. Documente*, Cluj-Napoca: Accent, 2003, p. 48.

⁴⁴ The report Minister Alexandru Beldiman addressed to Gen. Iacob Lahovary, Minister for Foreign Affairs, on 23 May/ 5 June 1905, in Teodor Pavel, *Românii și rivalitatea ...*, p. 51.

⁴⁵ This has remained known as the “Zappa affair,” whose protagonist, the Aromanian Evangelhelie Zappa, left a considerable part of his inheritance on the territory of Romania to the Greek state.

Albanian population in Older Serbia – Rascia, which the Serbs regarded as the sacred hearth of their ethnic entity) and the Greek nationalist projects (through the overwhelming majority represented by the Albanians and the Aromanians in the Vilayet of Epirus from Northern Greece). Up until 1913, perhaps also because of their political vulnerability, the Albanian leaders, be they Muslims or Christians, proved to be most loyal to the Aromanian cause in Greece. Ultimately, both ethnicities shared the same fate, having been subjected to the Hellenising pressure.

As mentioned above, when we discussed its involvement in the Serbian matter in the Balkans, Austria-Hungary was interested in further inflaming the Serbian-Albanian relations so as to redirect the attention of the Serbian political class southwards and to divert Belgrade's efforts away from territories north of the Danube. Through Albania, Austria-Hungary hoped to weaken or, at least, to benefit from Greece's benevolent neutrality in return. It should be noted that the Austro-Hungarian attention was focused mainly on Northern Albania, which was not featured in Greece's expansionist plans, but Athens was concerned about any foreign assistance that might have reinforced the Albanian quasi-statehood and hinder, in time, the Greek advancement towards Southern and even Central Albania, where, in the so-called Myzeqe region, the Aromanian element could be oriented to support the Greek cause. What also should not be neglected is Berlin's strategy, in agreement with Vienna, for gaining access to the southern seas also through a leg to stand on in Albania.

Yet another European state, which in the late 19th century lived its colonialist dream, expressed its interest in Albania: "Italy today, for reasons dependent on its historical evolution, has only the East in which it can hope to find the environment that will allow a peaceful development of its economic and social energies. Because it established its national state at a later date, Italy entered at a later time the international stage (the only one that can foster the development of an already formed national state), when the peoples had already exercised their right of expansion to territories *res nullius*. [...] That is why Italy, excluded from the colonial movement, must counterbalance its political and commercial influence with that of the other states."⁴⁶

For the Mediterranean state, the Albanian hinterland represented what it considered an easy prey, quite accessible in geographical terms, and the occupation of the Albanian shore would have led Italy to become the queen of the Adriatic Sea. Another incentive for Italy was represented by the so-called Arbëreshë, present especially in the zone of Calabria. They were the descendants of the Albanian immigrants from the medieval period, a series of Italy's leading politicians being recruited from among them (Premier Crispi is a relevant example). Beginning in 1877, Romania and Italy started querying each other about the Aromanian matter. For instance, in a meeting with the Italian politician L. Malegari, the secretary of the Romanian legation in Rome, Obedenaru suggested the formation of a state entity in Epirus, which would "rival Greece and be made a dependency of Italy."⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Giovanni Amadori Virgilj, *La questione rumeliota (Macedonia, Vecchia Serbia, Albania, Epiro) e la politica italiana*, I, Bitonto: Casa Editrice N. Garofalo, 1908, p. 4.

⁴⁷ M. D. Peyfuss, *Chestiunea Aromână*, București: Editura Enciclopedică, 1994, p. 50.

A year after the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Italy signed a treaty with Russia at Racconigi, whereby both countries pledged to maintain the status quo in the Balkans; the diplomacy from Rome was to have a benevolent attitude towards the problem of the straits; and Russia was to support Italy's interest in Cyrenaica and Tripolitania. This agreement was to represent the first step towards Italy's separation from the Triple Alliance.⁴⁸

Attempting on many occasions, when the diplomacy failed to properly play the Catholic card in Albania, Rome launched proselytising mission among the rather vulnerable tribes of the Mirdites, Albanian Catholics in the north. Moreover, the existence of the Aromanians deemed to be the Latins of the Balkans sparked further interest, especially in terms of an appeal to the ancient past, when the peninsula was part of the Roman Empire. In 1909, the estimates concerning the Catholics in Albania amounted to 100,000 out of a total population of 480,000 Christians.⁴⁹ What should be noted is that launching the Catholic propaganda in the Balkans had been an Austrian tactics since the late 19th century, consistent with the dream of a Catholic Wallachia around Monastir, to which end any dispute between the Greek Orthodox priests and the Aromanian communities was speculated and capitalised on.⁵⁰

However, Italy's expansionary trend in the Balkans could be characterised as a parade action, without conclusive results, since this was a state that aspired to the status of a "great power" and believed that a Balkan outpost would help accomplish its dream status.

In any case, the events of the years 1912-1913 further complicated the South European geopolitics. The outbreak of the Balkan Wars was preceded by an agreement regarding the division of the spoils, when states that prior to that moment had been involved in disputes for "overriding" expansionist interests came to agree on the liquidation of the Ottoman heritage in Europe. World War I would, of course, also engender disagreements between the conjunctural allies that would bring about the second global conflagration in which Romania had consented to intervene, especially to limit the power of Bulgaria, seen as a potential threat to the security of its own frontiers. Given the fact that Romania had tipped the scales, the peace terms and the territorial adjustments were to be dictated in Bucharest.

This brief presentation has outlined a dynamics of international relations in Southeast Europe that tends to be rather difficult to capture. The Balkan matter cannot be approached reductively as it encompasses, in fact, several conflicts: a) the one regarding the situation of the sultan's subjects, the Muslims and the Christians at the head of the old regime; b) the interference of the major powers in the affairs of Turkey and their Macedonian reforms; c) the claims Greece laid on Epirus and Southern Albania and Bulgaria's intentions to annex all or part of Macedonia, at the time Bulgaria demanding solely autonomy; d) the fight between Bulgaria and Serbia over Macedonia's Slavic element; e) the struggle of the four Macedonian

⁴⁸ D. Bușă, *Modificări teritoriale...*, p. 229.

⁴⁹ Geoffrey Drage, *Austria-Hungary*, London, 1909, p. 682.

⁵⁰ Victor Berard, *La Turquie et l'hellenisme contemporain*, Paris, 1893, pp. 281-291.

nationalities: the Bulgarians, the Serbs, the Aromanians and the Albanians to stop the momentum of Hellenism, coordinated from Athens and Constantinople.⁵¹

Faced with this delicate tableau, the Romanian diplomacy attempted to strike a difficult balance between the national interest, seen through either liberal or conservative lenses, and the temptation of a state that would assume a European mission and would be willing to intervene in support of the Aromanian communities as long as its foreign policy managed to avert more adventurous pathways.

⁵¹ We herein use the old name of Istanbul especially when we refer to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, which still retained the old name in the official title.

ON THE CREATION OF PAINTER OCTAVIAN SMIGELSCHI TOWARDS A REASSESSMENT OF LANDSCAPE

“I do not know if nature is beautiful or ugly, good or bad from a philosophical standpoint, for at all times it produces wonderful things, which attract your attention; beings whose life may be studied, this being, of course, a very interesting occupation.”²

Abstract: The article deals with some aspects of the landscape painting of Octavian Smigelschi (1866-1912), starting from the extensive study written by Iulia Mesea: *Peisagiști din sudul Transilvaniei între tradițional și modern*. Our contribution consists in bringing some additional information about the genesis of the artist's works. I consider that correlated with image analysis, biographical information can provide a new dimension to Smigelschi's landscapes, which were created in two major temporal stages, the first lasting between 1886 and 1900 and the second from 1905 to 1906. I insist both on the message underlying the works and on identifying the Western European influences on the artist. I believe that some of these works are indebted to John Ruskin's theories, while others, with a documentary purpose, were achieved under the influence of the monographic studies that dominated the period and, especially, under the influence of Professor Stefan Gróh, yet others being echoes of Jugendstil.

Keywords: Smigelschi, landscape, painting, reassessment, turn of the century, Transylvania

The painter Octavian Smigelschi (1866-1912)³ was not a landscape artist. However, he created numerous works in this artistic genre. This article, which aims to reassess his contribution in this direction, starts from the study of Iulia Mesea, *Peisagiști din sudul Transilvaniei între tradițional și modern (Landscape Painters from Southern Transylvania between Tradition and Modernity)*⁴ and offers an

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² Octavian Smigelschi, “Autobiografia adresată Societății Transilvania din București,” in Horia Petru Predescu, *Calendar pentru popor al Asociațiunii, Sibiu, 1934*.

³ For the painter's biography, see Virgil Vătășianu, *Pictorul Octavian Smigelschi*, Sibiu: Ed. Krafft & Drotleff S.A., 1936; Virgil Vătășianu, *Octavian Smigelschi*, București: Ed. Meridiane, 1982; Coriolan Petranu, “Octavian Smigelschi, 30 de ani de la moartea pictorului,” in *Luceafărul*, year 2, no. 1, Sibiu: Tiparul Institutului de Arte Grafice “Dacia Traiană” S. A., 1943; Virgil Vătășianu, “Octavian Smigelschi o sută de ani de la naștere,” in *Arta Plastică*, no. 9, București, 1966; Nicolae Iorga, *Expoziția retrospectivă O. Smigelschi, exhibition catalogue*, Sibiu, 1963; Nicolae Sabău, “Octavian Smigelschi și pictura neobizantină” in *Îndrumătorul pastoral*, Alba-Iulia, V, 1981; Nicolae Sabău, *Le peintre Octavian Smigelschi entre tradition et modernité*, in Mircea Țoca, Cornel Crăciun (ed.), *Pagini de artă modernă și contemporană*, Oradea, 1996, pp. 70-77; Nicolae Sabău, Ioana Gruică-Savu, *Octavian Smigelschi în presă. Construirea imaginii publice a artistului*, vol. I, Cluj-Napoca: Ed. Mega, 2009.

⁴ Iulia Mesea, *Peisagiști din sudul Transilvaniei între tradițional și modern*, Bibliotheca Brukenthal collection, 53, Sibiu, 2011.

extensive analysis of the artist's landscape works, preserved in the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum,⁵ placing them in the context of Transylvanian painting from the late 19th century and the early 20th century. The purpose of this brief research is not to resume the above-mentioned analysis, but, starting from the complex study written by Iulia Mesea and from a few basic principles formulated by Virgil Vătășianu, to contribute with additional information about the artistic message behind the painter's landscape works. I believe that correlated with image analysis, the new data resulting from the analysis of the artist's documents and statements can reveal a new dimension of his works.

The analysis of these types of works involves a temporal, chronological classification, which overlaps the stylistic classification. His landscapes were achieved in two major temporal stages, the first lasting between 1886 and 1900 and the second between 1905 and 1906. This classification is determined both by the painter's approach to landscapes and by formal aspects of his works.

Landscape was among Smigelschi's concerns especially in the beginning of his career, his early achievements dating from the time of his studies at the School for Art Teachers in Budapest. During this period, the artist had modest financial resources and tried hard to pursue his training in the artistic field. Landscape was a less costly artistic genre, investment in materials was not so expensive, and the works in this category fit the taste of the Transylvanian public, being therefore more easily marketed.

The artist's earliest works date from the months of June-August of 1886 and they represent travel impressions, made in the villages around Sibiu. It should be noted that, at that time, Octavian Smigelschi was on summer holiday, as he was still a student of the School for Art Teachers in Budapest, which he graduated in 1889.⁶ It seems that the summer of 1886 was prolific, as he undertook a series of trips to Racovița, Călnic, Tălmăcel and Gârbova, which ended with a series of composition studies, pencil drawings⁷ of elements in nature, of urban and rural landscapes (Fig. 1-11). One may surmise that since these were his years of training, the artist wanted to improve his drawing technique and, at the same time, to practise working in nature, in order to apply what he had learned throughout the first years spent at the school in Budapest.

For this series of works, Smigelschi was not interested in using colour, but practised playing with lines and, as mentioned by the art historians referred to above, he sought to resolve the problems of spatiality and composition. He was concerned to capture atmospheric landscapes, while experiencing with the power of lines, of valorisation and shading. Can be appreciate his intention to work outdoors, without further interventions in the studio, this aspect drawing him close, in terms of the method of approach, to the modern *En-plein-air* conceptions of the Barbizon School,

⁵ Referred to as BNM in the text.

⁶ Virgil Vătășianu, *Pictorul Octavian Smigelschi...*, p. 6, Iulia Mesea, *Peisagiști din sudul Transilvaniei între tradițional și modern...*, p. 219.

⁷ Virgil Vătășianu, *Pictorul Octavian Smigelschi...*, p. 7.

in vogue at the time.⁸ However, I should note his curiosity, similar to that of botanical enthusiasts for discovering different types of plants, powerfully manifested by the detailed rendition of vegetal forms and the ecosystem to which they belonged. I suggest that the source of inspiration for this type of approach resided in the writings and watercolour works of the English art critic John Ruskin⁹ and in the landscapes achieved in the English artistic circles, during the second half of the 19th century. Ruskin's precepts related to drawing in nature led to a new generation of watercolour artists whom Ruskin urged to seek natural, easily accessible elements, rural areas where the ground was cracked, textured, river banks and tree roots and to use these in drawing and composition exercises.¹⁰ In *The Elements of Drawing & the Elements of Perspective*, Ruskin gave some recipes for beginner artists, as regards both the choice of the subjects they would represent and composition, design or colour application. Ruskin's work represented valuable teaching material, which I am convinced that Smigelschi took full advantage of during his years of study.¹¹

From this period, the work that stands out is *Tălmăcel Landscape* (Fig. 10), from the BNM collection, capturing the course of a small stream. The artist is interested in the structure of stones, carefully outlined in pencil, in contrast with the fragility of the flowers on the river bank. The same idea is also conveyed in the work *Fern* (Fig. 9), also from the BNM collection, where Smigelschi rendered each and every detail, or *Landscape* (Fig. 7). Virgil Vătășianu and Iulia Mesea remarked an evolution of drawing in the work entitled *Landscape* (Fig. 11), from the BNM collection, where the artist displays his compositional knowledge and concerns:

"... two rows of hills, among which there flows a winding rivulet. Details are lacking altogether and the whole interest is focused on the grouping of masses. Two strong lines, consisting of a row of bushes in the light and another one in the shade, start from the foreground to the left and to the right, opening energetically towards the background, in order to deepen our gaze at a valley in the midst of which the river outlines the wide curve, framed by hilly masses, rhythmically arranged and rhythmically illuminated."¹²

Another experiment, in which the artist exercised the power of line and shading, is the work representing a house in Tălmăcel (Fig. 6), but also the work entitled *Landscape* (Fig. 8), where Smigelschi chose to depict a water mill and in which he exploited all shapes, textures and rhythms offered by such a topic. A series of urban landscapes that capture the old town of Sibiu also date back from 1886: *Landscape* (Fig. 4) and *Sibiu landscape* (Fig. 3), as well as the sketch of a Gothic

⁸ Iulia Mesea, *Peisagiști din sudul Transilvaniei între tradițional și modern...*, p. 220.

⁹ Scott Wilcox, Christopher Newall, *Victorian Landscape Watercolours*, Yale Center for British Art, 1992, p. 29.

¹⁰ John Ruskin, *The Elements of Drawing & the Elements of Perspective*, London: J. M. Dent, 1907 (first ed. 1857), Scott Wilcox, Christopher Newall, *Victorian Landscape Watercolours...*, p. 34.

¹¹ We know from studying Smigelschi's correspondence with his good friend Valeriu Braniște that the artist was familiar with the writings of Ruskin. For more information, see Gheorghe Iancu, Valeria Căliman (ed.), *Valeriu Braniște corespondență*, vol. III, (1902-1910), București: Ed. Minerva, 1989, pp. 33-48.

¹² Virgil Vătășianu, *Pictorul Octavian Smigelschi...*, p.26.

portal, in which the artist was concerned to render the architectural details of the medieval edifice. Along the same lines, there is a sketch presenting the interior of Câlnic fortress (Fig. 1), called *Old house landscape*, as well as a study depicting the entrance into the fortification from Gârbova¹³ (Fig. 2). In this series of works, there is a visible interest for representing, in almost documentary manner, the Transylvanian monuments. We may assume that the artist expressed his interest in fortifications in keeping with the spirit of the time and that he followed, above all, the example of his professor Stefan Gróh.¹⁴ The professor had emphasised, on numerous occasions, as a member of the Historical Monuments Commission,¹⁵ the beauty and wealth of the cultural heritage that comprised the old medieval buildings from the Transylvanian villages and towns.¹⁶ However, we can say that the beginning of the 20th century was marked by major monographic and ethnographic studies, conducted by Hungarian specialists, on the cultural heritage of Transylvania, which was deemed to have preserved traditional values unaltered. I cannot fail to mention, in this context, the studies of Malonay Desző dedicated to the area of Trascău in Alba County,¹⁷ where the author drew in pencil, for documentary purposes, most of the buildings in the village. Along the same lines, note should be made of the watercolours of Huszka József (1854-1934), which immortalised the frescoes in the churches from Szeklerland, works dating from the medieval period.¹⁸

Among the most accomplished landscapes created during the first period of his work, Iulia Mesea identifies a work, dated 1888, which captures a rural landscape in the dead of winter,¹⁹ made at Banská Štiavnica (in German Schemnitz, in Hungarian Selmecebánya), a small town in Slovakia, where the artist worked as a drawing teacher for a short time. The work is characterised by geometrical drawing, by a sequence of short diagonals, by the firm outlines and the stark contrast between black and white

¹³ A locality in Alba County, situated 20 kilometres away from Sebeș.

¹⁴ Gróh Ștefan (István) (1867-1936) was a Hungarian artist, the student of Székely Bertalan and Lotz Károly, and renowned art critic and a professor of the Higher School of Industrial Arts in Budapest, whose director he was in the period 1917-1926. He carried out documentation work on the Hungarian national monuments as a member of the Historical Monuments Commission in Budapest and he published scholarly articles focused on promoting Hungarian decorative art. He was also involved in numerous campaigns for the restoration of old monuments. He distinguished himself through a number of studies, underlining the possibility of using traditional Hungarian decorative art as a source for classical art, his works having a strong symbolist profile. The artist was delegated by the National Commission for Historical Monuments to restore and document cycles of frescoes in Transylvania, his works being later exhibited at the Museum of Fine Arts, with the goal of popularising the Hungarian historical heritage. See Pirigyí István, *Gróh István. A Hajdúdorogi Egyházmegye Jubileumi Emlékkönyve*, Nyíregyháza, 1987; Zádor Anna, Genthon István (red.), *Művészeti Lexikon*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, II, 1967, p. 293.

¹⁵ Béla Zsolt Szakács, *Guide to Visual Resources of Medieval East-Central Europe*, Central European University, Dept. of Medieval Studies, Budapest, 2001, pp. 88-89.

¹⁶ Virgil Vătășianu, *Pictorul Octavian Smigelschi...*, p. 49.

¹⁷ Malonay Desző, *A magyar Nép Művészete*, Budapest, 1909.

¹⁸ See János Mihály, *Huszka József székelyföldi falképmásolatai: (katalógus)*, Sfântu Gheorghe: Charta Kiado, 2008.

¹⁹ Iulia Mesea, *Peisagiști din sudul Transilvaniei între tradițional și modern*, Bibliotheca Brukenthal collection, LIII, Sibiu, 2011, pp. 222-223.

that dominates the colour palette.²⁰ I believe that, beyond the accuracy of the drawing, the work demonstrates the artist's concern for the architectural details that individualised the buildings in this town. The townscape focuses on capturing a panorama at roof level, where the unique shape of the chimneys stands out, highlighting the specific architecture of the Slovakian town.

This concern for the architectural landscape of various town could be a consequence of the contact the Transylvanian artist had had with art theories circulating in Great Britain. *The Stones of Venice* had been published in 1851 by the art critic John Ruskin.²¹ Smigelschi mentioned it among his readings: a three-volume treatise, which documents the architecture of the town of Venice, with its buildings made in the Byzantine, Gothic and Renaissance styles. John Ruskin's theories had a great impact in the Hungarian cultural milieu, especially in the early 20th century, this ideology being followed by artists, especially by those who frequented the art colony from Gödöllő. In their case, there was also a special interest in undertaking pilgrimages in Transylvania, to recover the cultural heritage preserved in the villages there, the decorative motifs of peasant architecture, and to create a synthesis between the traditional and the modern.²²

Regarding the above-mentioned study, we believe that Smigelschi adopted Ruskin's theories. In his correspondence, he mentioned the necessity of knowing the art of drawing, which he considered a compulsory, albeit not sufficient prerequisite for creating works of art. Besides the technical aspects, he mentioned that an essential part was the concept behind the work, which had to reflect the artist's feelings about the subject represented, so that the work could acquire genuine artistic value.

A large number of works in the landscape genre were completed for the exhibition that Octavian Smigelschi organised in Sibiu in 1890, along with his colleagues Fritz Schullerus and Robert Wellmann. Most of the works dating from this period were made using the watercolour technique. Reviews related to this event were published in the magazines *Siebenbürgisch – Deutsches Tageblatt*²³ and *Familia*.

"... this time the exhibition surprised viewers through an entire series of landscapes in watercolour, which characterise very well his strengths, for his watercolours are so lovely and so brilliantly accomplished that they could be featured in the exhibitions of any world capital. The said journalist also says that in Mr. Smigelski there is hidden a part of Hildebrandt or Werner."²⁴

Less experienced in the new trends of modern art, the Transylvanian public received and was impressed by Smigelschi's accomplishments, even though they were in an experiment stage.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 222-223.

²¹ Smigelschi documented a version of John Ruskin's volume, translated into German.

²² Geller Katalin, "Hungarian Art Nouveau and its English Sources," in *Hungarian Studies*, year 6, no. 2, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1990, pp. 155-165; Heather N. McMahon, *An Aspect of Nation Building: Constructing a Hungarian National Style in Architecture, 1890-1910*, mss. Central European University Nationalism Studies Program, Budapest, 2004, p. 50.

²³ "Kunstaussstellung," in *Siebenbürgisch – Deutsches Tageblatt*, 2-4 October, Sibiu, 1890.

²⁴ "Literatură și arte," in *Familia*, year 24, no. 40, 7-19 October, Oradea Mare, 1890.

Among these works, there stand out creations in which there is a fine observation of nature, in which the subjects are tree trunks, the artist probably using a recipe proposed by John Ruskin. The English art critic formed his own theory about the advantages of representing trees, which for him were the perfect didactic material and also a visual element of complex and infinite, inexhaustible variety, representing a challenge for the power of observation of any artist. According to Ruskin, trees offered a wide range of opportunities for exploiting various textures, shadows and curved lines, which compelled the artist to use all his technical skills. At the same time, Ruskin started from the theory that these natural elements should be treated like portraits. Following this principle, Smigelschi probably created work that represents a gnarled tree (Fig. 17), which is found in the BNM collection. I consider that he nonetheless went beyond Ruskin's principles, being also interested in the play of lights and shadows, the work being carried out in broad strokes, without rendering reality accurately. This draws it closer to *En-plein-air* painting.²⁵

It was also in this period, I believe, that the artist created a work he had originally drawn in pencil (Fig. 12), found in the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum, and that he subsequently transposed in watercolour and gouache, in a study found in the collection of the Art Museum in Cluj-Napoca (Fig. 13).²⁶ The winter landscape captures a village at the foot of a hill, and the composition is designed horizontally, along gently-sloping lines, suggesting the calm of a winter day, in which nature is numbed under the snow. In the version transposed into colour, the artist used browns to convey the volume of natural elements, which serve as the background for a number of houses, granting a horizontally structured balance to the work. The monotony is broken, here and there, by the introduction of strong vertical lines – the trees and the posts of a fence. The atmosphere obtained is rather oppressive, the only spots of light are accomplished through strokes depicting the snow, and the chromatic palette is quite austere. The landscape *Entrance to a mine*, now in the graphics collection of the National Gallery in Budapest (Fig. 14), conveys a similar idea.²⁷ This cycle of works includes *Village alley* (Fig. 15), but the composition is more complex in this case. The artist captures the village alley, with houses arranged on both sides of the road. In the background, there is introduced a human figure, which appears to be moving away and the foreground captures animals drinking from a trough. The work builds an atmosphere in which the artist does not forget any element defining life in the village: fences, with their specific shape, with beautifully decorated wooden gates, hills that vanish in the background. Clouds and the snow on the road are the stains of light that help complete the composition. Our gaze is led along the meandering line of the road, which provides the meaning of the scene.²⁸

²⁵ Iulia Mesea, *Peisagiști din sudul Transilvaniei între tradițional și modern...*, p. 220.

²⁶ Referred to as AM in the text.

²⁷ Matits Ferenc, "Megemlékezés Smigelschi Oktávról és néhány, Budapesten található művéről, in *A nyíregyházi Jós András Múzeum évkönyve*, no. 41, 1999, pp. 447-458; Iulia Mesea, *Peisagiști din sudul Transilvaniei între tradițional și modern ...*, pp. 224.

²⁸ The work was quickly noticed at the exhibition in Sibiu, organised by Smigelschi in 1903. Leandru, the author of the review published in *Tribuna poporului* from Arad, describes the work: "The colours of the winter landscape (the fountain) and of the three bulls by the trough at the village end are perfect –

Images that create an atmosphere and that document village life appear in the works *The Orthodox church of Streiu* (Fig. 23), *Rural church* (Fig. 22), *Saxon church* (Fig. 21) and *Landscape* (Fig. 26), all of them housed by the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum. None of these works is signed or dated, but we may assume that they were made around the time of the exhibition in 1890. The work created at Streiu is one of the most interesting landscapes dating from this period. The composition is built vertically in order to capture the entire medieval structure of the fortified church, with a focus on the architectural details that particularise it. It is a work full of light, the artist rendering carefully the shadows reflected on the side façade of the church. I find this work interesting also because Smigelschi introduced a male character, wearing a hat and a cane, who is close the entrance. This character seems a townsman who is interested in visiting the monument, which reinforces our assumption, launched a few lines above, that Smigelschi envisaged and encouraged the documentation of buildings with heritage value in Transylvania. In the works *Rural church* (Fig. 22) and *Saxon church* (Fig. 21), both in the collection of the Brukenthal National Museum, Smigelschi actually captures the same church in two different seasons. Depicted from two different angles, the church is individualised and its architectural elements can be easily identified. The Transylvanian painter was attracted to this framework and, just by changing the viewpoint, he presented this corner of a Saxon village, its houses with a porch and a wooden fence, both in summer, when everything is green, and in winter, when snow covers the ground and the house rooftops. By juxtaposition, we can notice that the artist was concerned with the manner in which light changes the viewer's perception of a landscape. If in the summery landscape the artist insists on the layout of the spots of colour, on alternating shades of green, light tones and prevalent short strokes, alongside larger patches of colour, in the winter landscape the artist darkens the colours, the lack of light being emphasised, and the patches of colour acquire stronger contours. The artist chose to highlight the traces of snow by applying a dazzling white, contrasted with the dirty greys and browns used for the rest of the work. From this period also date works such as *Landscape* (Fig. 24), *Landscape* (Fig. 25), and *Landscape* (Fig. 27) from the Brukenthal Museum collection. These works in watercolour have decorative effects, achieved by applying colour patches on ample surfaces, while the natural elements are graphically rendered with thin lines.

It is also from this period that there are several works which we have not been able to consult, mentioned in Virgil Vătăşianu's study of 1936, namely six watercolours from the Pulcheria Smigelschi collection, a work that belongs to Magdalena Sluşanschi, which we think is found in the collection of the Art Museum, to which the artist's daughter made a substantial donation (Fig. 32), two works in the

what I admire most about these paintings is the perspective..." These lines merely confirm that such a rural landscape was designed to attract attention and promote the image of the Romanian village. Smigelschi's artistic discourse was well received and correctly perceived by his contemporaries. This is attested by the fact that this work was the only one pertaining to the category of easel paintings exhibited that received attention in the pages of the newspaper from Arad. See *Tribuna Poporului*, no. 190, Arad, 1903, Nicolae Sabău, Ioana Gruită-Savu, *Octavian Smigelschi în presă...*, p. 112.

collections of Vasile Smigelschi's heirs, and other works in collections belonging to the families Horșia, Vasile, Goga, Coulin, Russu, Piso, Crăciunescu, Hannenheim, Michaelis, Sigerius, Dörschlag and Hossu.²⁹

The watercolours from this period were exhibited, together with monumental paintings, in exhibitions organised in Sibiu and in Budapest in 1903. The magazine *Unirea* rendered a passage from the Hungarian newspaper *Új idők*,³⁰ which discussed the artist's creation in the sphere of landscape:

"Also at Smigelschi I saw in the hall some smaller paintings, studies on nature; they are prepared with extraordinary connoisseurship; especially worthy of praise are his small watercolours which, with fewer means, reproduce perfectly the cool, misty air of autumn, the wetness of the trees and the overall feel of the region."³¹

Because the artist was not attracted to landscape, for a period of time it was absent from his preoccupations, but he returned to it in 1905-1906. These works were done in tempera, and the colour palette lost its richness during the period of watercolours, the images were duller, the surfaces were flatter and the shapes were designed across large, almost geometric and very dense areas. As a way of applying colour, these works no longer had the transparency sought and obtained through watercolours at the beginning of his creation. Smigelschi managed to impart a personal touch to these landscapes and convey dynamism to these compositions, which are very at the bottom and increasingly more rhythmic towards the horizon. This is the case of the works *Evening is falling* (Fig. 31), *Winter around Sibiu* (Fig. 29) or *Landscape* (Fig. 30), all in the Brukenthal collection. Most of the works that I have consulted are designed horizontally, and the artist seems concerned to create a state of tension through the presence of the clouds, depicted in different tonalities. The sky, which in Smigelschi's previous works was a uniform path of colour, a background, is now much more animated. At the same time, also as a result of his experience and contact with modern European art, adopting, from the compositional point of view, the presentation of the space nearby, Smigelschi narrowed the area dedicated to the sky, which basically became a strip of colour.³² Although modern influences can be detected at the compositional level, I cannot say the same about the colour palette. Smigelschi was not an experienced colourist and his works are rather characterised by the application of colours in solid, uniform masses, in thick layers and the games of transparency are extremely rare.

In his *Winter around Sibiu* (Fig. 29), one can notice a change in colours and strokes, which, in this case, are more vigorous, applied on the upper side of the composition, to emphasise the movement of the clouds. Apart from Iulia Mesea's considerations on composition and spatiality,³³ we can notice, on the right, a softening

²⁹ Virgil Vătășianu, *Pictorul Octavian Smigelschi...*, p. 25, n. 1.

³⁰ Hecceg Ferenc, "A törzsvendég emlékeiből," in *Új idők*, year 9, no. 52, Budapest, 20 December, 1903, pp. 576-577. The Hungarian magazine was one of the most important family dailies that were addressed to the middle class.

³¹ "Pictorul Smigelschi," in *Unirea*, year 13, no. 52, Blaj, 26 December, 1903, p. 509.

³² Aleksander Wojciechowski, *Arta peisajului*, București: Ed. Meridiane, 1974, pp. 68-69.

³³ Iulia Mesea, *Peisagiști din sudul Transilvaniei între tradițional și modern...*, p. 225.

of the contours and the lines, which are becoming increasingly blurred close to the horizon. In additions to this, given the arrangement of colours into irregular splotches and the overlapping colours, we see an interest in obtaining certain transparencies.

Iulia Mesea also points out the similarity between Smigelschi's work *Landscape* (Fig. 27) and Szinyei Merse Pál's compositions.³⁴ Starting from this reference, we found that in other works, such as in *Winter around Sibiu*, one can find a compositional similarity with the Hungarian artist's works *Creek* (1883-1894) and *Landscape with poppies* (1896), in which there is an accentuation of the curves through the layout of natural elements and through the use of similar characters.

This second stage was part of the new European trends. The artist no longer relied on a naturalistic rendition of reality, but rather sought to give his works a decorative character. There are many influences, in this sense, and they came primarily from the creation of his teacher in Budapest, Székely Bertalan,³⁵ who was, in turn, preoccupied with Jugendstil.³⁶ From this stage, a work that stands out is *Evening is falling (Autumn landscape)*.

In the late 19th century and the early 20th century, European landscape was characterised by a multitude of tendencies that existed in parallel and developed very rapidly. First, one of the trends that made a career in the genre of landscape, Romanticism, dominated the 19th century. The melancholic spirit, drama and dreamy atmosphere continued to be reflected in the paintings until the end of the century, cohabiting with figurative-objective academicism, which was dominated by rigidity. Then came currents like Realism and Impressionism, which perceived nature as a spectacular subject, which no longer require human presence, landscapes being dominated by an obsession with colour, with light, rather than with shape. Also, as part of these currents, there appeared mood landscapes, conveyed emotionally and subjectively, and decorative landscapes, dominated by winding lines, as expressions of Jugendstil.

In Transylvania, the approach to this artistic genre was subordinated to the influences local artists received from Central European and, especially, Munich art, which arrived here via the Budapest and Vienna channels, gaining more moderate formulations, adapted to the provincial realities. Smigelschi's works from this second stage are no exception to the general rule, as they are more moderate versions of the types of landscape practised in Central Europe.

His first landscape works pursued the idea of composition and rhythm, by alternating dark and light areas, and for this stage, especially for his studies of trees and plants, we may find correspondences in John Ruskin's works *Stone pines* (1848) or *Rocks and Ferns in a Wood at Crossmount* (1847).

Another category of works are the landscapes depicting the world of the Romanian village, which are characterised by the specific atmosphere of Transylvania. It is undisputed that at the end of the 19th century and in the early 20th century, there emerged the landscape genre known as national landscape, reflected

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 220.

³⁵ Zsuzsanna Bakó, *Székely Bertalan (1835–1910)*, Budapest: Kep. Kiadó, 1982

³⁶ Iulia Mesea, *Peisagiști din sudul Transilvaniei între tradițional și modern...*, p. 223.

both in art and in literature, throughout Central-Eastern Europe.³⁷ National landscape was invested with specific, easily recognisable elements from nature or architecture, which were found only in a particular area. In these works, the artist captured landforms that were representative for the villages around Sibiu, especially hills, water sources or architectural elements, among which we should mention the village house and church rooftops, the Transylvanian village with its alleys, fountains with watering troughs for the cattle, and fences made of wooden posts. They are quite static, almost monographic studies of such places, but they also attempt to convey the atmosphere, the spirit of the place. Part of Smigelschi's landscapes are a reflection of the experience that the artist had assimilated both through his studies at the School of Drawing in Budapest, alongside his professor Székely Bertalan, who had also been concerned with the new trends emerging in art in the early 20th century, and through direct contact with the school of Hungarian art, through its representatives Pál Szinyei Merse (1845-1920) and Károly Ferenczy (1862-1917). The works from the period between 1905 and 1906 are characterised by more compact, massive shapes, rhythmically structured by the play of curves, conferring them a decorative feature, the artist's attention being focused especially on problems of composition and rhythm. Iulia Mesea identifies an a-perspectival conception specific to Jugendstil.³⁸ Smigelschi also made a series of works in pastel, gouache or tempera, under the influence of *En-plein-air* painting. Similar examples can be found in the works of his colleagues from Sibiu, but also in Hungary,³⁹ Poland⁴⁰ and in other parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, all having as a starting point influence of the Munich artistic environment, or of the French school, which also arrived here along German channels. In these works, the artist used the technique of short strokes, spots of colour, searches of light, bright colours and contrasts.⁴¹

His contemporaries accurately sensed the manner in which the artist conceived his landscapes. In a posthumous issued of the magazine *Pesti Hírlap* dating from 1913, it was stated about the creation of the painter that "His landscapes are characterised by a drawing that resembles a graphic creation..."⁴² George Oprescu claimed, in 1944, in a study dedicated to the artist, that Smigelschi "will also try creating landscapes – drawings taken before who knows which corner of nature, directly, honestly, showing that he is not inferior to his confreres around the rest of the country..."⁴³

³⁷ Anne-Marie Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales*, Paris: Ed. Du Seuil, 1999, p. 187.

³⁸ Iulia Mesea, *Peisagiști din sudul Transilvaniei între tradițional și modern...*, p. 225.

³⁹ Sármany-Parsons Ilona, "Nagybánya festészete. A Monarchia Művészeti kontextusában," in *Ars Hungarica*, year 28, no. 2, Budapest, 2000, pp. 321-356, Sármany-Parsons Ilona, *Constructing the Canon of Hungarian Modern Painting, 1890-1918...*, pp. 225, 227-229.

⁴⁰ Anna Bryski Long, "To Signify a Nation: The Problem of Polish Fin de Siècle Landscape Painting," in *Chicago Art Journal*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1996, pp. 27-39.

⁴¹ Iulia Mesea, *Peisagiști din sudul Transilvaniei între tradițional și modern...*, p. 220.

⁴² Kézdi, "Négy halott művész," in *Pesti Hírlap*, year 35, Budapest, 20 October, 1913, p. 7.

⁴³ George Oprescu, "Octavian Smigelschi, desenator," in *Transilvania*, year 75, no. 10-12, Sibiu, October-November, 1944, p. 817.

We do not believe that landscape was a priority for the artist, nor do we believe that he felt drawn to this artistic genre. Smigelschi was not an artist of colours and he was not interested in impressionism, a dimension that remained an unexplored terrain for him. His curiosity was rather for the rhythms of composition, for balance and lines, drawing representing his strength and not colour. We consider, however, that his landscapes round off his creation and reveal his theoretical concerns, as well as the manner in which he selected his sources of inspiration, which helps us to understand more clearly the message behind his works.

ILUSTRATIONS



Fig. 1. Old house landscape, pencil on paper, dated 19/ VIII 1886, signed lower left Kelling (Călnic), inv. no. XI 241, BNM coll.



Fig. 2. The Gate of Gârbova Fortress, pencil on paper, dated 17/X 1886, lower left Smigelschi, inv. no. XI 203, BNM coll.



Fig. 3. Study, Sibiu, pencil on paper, dated 10/VIII 1886, signed lower right Smigelschi, inv. no. XI 160, BNM coll.



Fig. 4. Landscape, Sibiu, pencil on paper, dated 1/VIII 1886, signed lower right Smigelschi, inv. no. XI 188, BNM coll.



Fig. 5. Study portal of the church in Sibiu, pencil on paper, dated 1886, signed lower right Smigelschi, inv. no. XI 235, BNM coll.



Fig. 6. Tălmăcel lanscape, pencil/chalk on paper, 48x101, dated 26/VI 1886, signed lower right Smigelschi, inv. no. XI 187, BNM coll.



Fig. 7. Tălmăcel lanscape, pencil on paper, dated 6/VIII 1886, unsigned, inv. no. 67, BNM coll.



Fig. 8. Landscape, pencil on paper, dated 29/VI 1886, unsigned, inv. no. XI 196, BNM coll.



Fig. 9. Fern, Tălmăcel, pencil on paper, dated 24/VII 1886, unsigned, inv. no. 182, BNM coll.



Fig. 10. Tălmăcel landscape, pencil on paper, dated 24/VII 1886, unsigned, inv. no. XI 230, BNM coll.



Fig. 11. Landscape near Tâlmăcel, pencil on paper, 17x24, dated 30/VI. 86, signed lower right Smigelschi, inv. no. XI 227, BNM coll.



Fig. 12. Landscape, pencil on paper, not dated, unsigned, inv. no. XI 190, BNM coll.



Fig. 13. Winter landscape, watercolour, gouache on cardboard, not dated, unsigned, inv. no. 10193, AM coll.

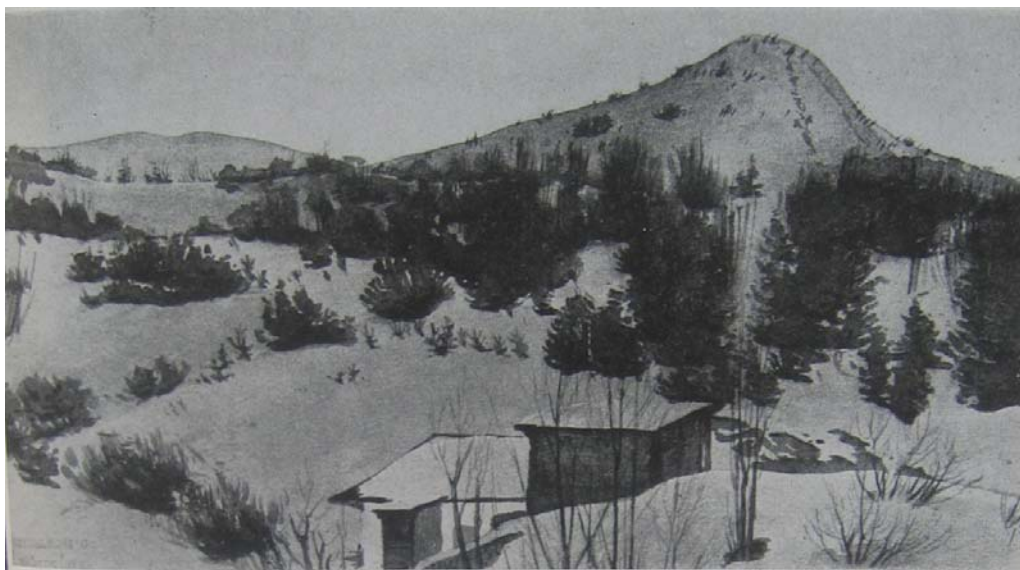


Fig. 14. Entrance to a mine, *apud*. V. Vătășianu, *Pictorul Octavian Smigelschi*, Ed. Meridiane, 1982, img. 29.



Fig. 15. Village alley, watercolour on paper, 29x25,7, not dated, signed lower right Smigelschi, inv. no. XI 943, BNM coll.



Fig. 16. Village well, watercolour on paper, 45x32, not dated, unsigned, coll. of Eng. Octavian Smigelschi, Bucharest.



Fig. 17. Tree study, watercolour on paper, 18,2x12,2, not dated, unsigned, inv. no. XI 218, BNM coll.



Fig. 18. Glade, watercolour on paper, not dated, signed lower right Smigelschi, inv. no. XI 944, BNM coll.



Fig. 19. Landscape at Schemnitz, watercolour on paper, 34 x 17 cm, unsigned, not dated, family coll. *apud* C. Chituță, Octavian Smigelschi, album, p. 84.



Fig. 20. Landscape with birches, tempera and crayon on paper, 41,5 x 48, not dated, unsigned, coll. of Mario Smigelschi, Bucharest.



Fig. 21. Saxon church, watercolour on paper, 38x27, not dated, signed lower right in black Smigelschi, inv. no. 113, BNM coll.



Fig. 22. Rural church, watercolour on paper, not dated, signed lower in black Smigelschi, inv. no. XI 942, BNM coll.



Fig. 23. The church of Streiu, watercolour on paper, 34x26, not dated, unsigned, inv. no. XI 225, BNM coll.



Fig. 24. Landscape, watercolour on cardboard, not dated, unsigned, inv. no. XI 151, BNM coll.



Fig. 25. Landscape, watercolour on cardboard, not dated, unsigned, inv. no. XI 121, BNM coll.



Fig. 26. Landscape, watercolour on cardboard, unsigned, not dated, inv. no. XI 114, BNM coll.



Fig. 27. Landscape, watercolour on cardboard, 42,5x48, not dated, unsigned, inv. no. XI 100, BNM coll.



Fig. 28. Landscape, watercolour on cardboard, 25,5x19, not dated, unsigned, inv. no. 130, BNM coll.



Fig. 29. Winter around Sibiu, tempera on cardboard, 54x108, not dated, unsigned, inv. no. 1678, BNM coll.



Fig. 30. Landscape, tempera on cardboard, 47,7x101,5, 1905, unsigned, inv. no. 1594, BNM coll.



Fig. 31. Evening is falling (Autumn landscape), tempera on cardboard, 56x108, 1905, unsigned, inv. no. 1668, BNM coll.



Fig. 32. Autumn landscape, watercolour on paper, not dated, unsigned, inv. no. 10195, AM coll.



Fig. 33. Landscape at Tălmăcel, tempera on cardboard 33 x 48,5 cm, unsigned/not dated, coll. of the Smigelschi family.



Fig. 34. Landscape, watercolour, gouache on paper, not dated, unsigned, inv. no. 2071, BNM coll.

THE ITALIAN FRONT IN THE VISION OF THE ARTIST AUREL POPP FROM SATU MARE

Abstract: The painter Aurel Popp from Satu Mare participated in the military conflicts deployed on the Italian front between 1915 and 1916, as a member of the regiment from Debrecen, a component part of the 20th Honvéd Division. During all this period, he tried to send his wife news about himself, about the events he had participated in, and about the places through which he had passed with his unit.

The main sources of this study are the three letters the painter addressed to his wife, Madzsar Irén. The letters preserved in the collection of the Satu Mare County Museum. Their content resembles a war journal, as the author began to write immediately after sending the previous letter, noting down his thoughts and concerns, as well as the events that occurred from the moment of finishing the previous epistle until sending the next. Thus, the letters reveal information about the regions through which he passed with his unit, the atmosphere on the frontline, in the trenches, but also about the activities behind the frontline. The events are rendered through the lenses of the artist, who described with great finesse and a sense of humour the unusual situations he had experienced.

Keywords: World War I, Isonzo, regiment, frontline, letters

*

World War I, referred to as the Great War prior to 1939, left deep scars in the minds and hearts of the people who lived during that period. An important historical source for this theme consists in the impressions, memories and images that the participants in the events noted down in their memoirs, diaries, and even in the pages of literary works, in paintings, engravings, drawings, etc.

This study aims to reconstruct some of the events of the years 1915-1917, in which the painter Aurel Popp from Satu Mare also participated. He was a member of the regiment from Debrecen, a component part of the 20th Honvéd Division² in the Austro-Hungarian Army. An active participant in military actions on the Italian front and, then, in Russia, he left a collection of photographs taken in various towns through which he passed with his regiment, engravings, sketches drawn during the war, memoirs and letters in which recounted his experiences and happenings on the two fronts.

Of the many sources on this subject, the letters of the artist from Satu Mare have been chosen for this study, as they present the events through the lenses of a visual artist, who described with great finesse and a sense of humor the unusual

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² Prior to starting the mobilisation of August 1914, the Hungarian Honvéd units (regular combatant soldiers) were organised into 5 commands with an additional two infantry divisions, two cavalry divisions and 12 independent infantry brigades. At mobilisation, six more divisions were added to the brigades. The entire organisation was under the command of the Hungarian Ministry of Defence.

situations he experienced. Respecting his promise to his wife, Aurel Popp noted down on the pages of his epistles all the events he had witnessed, whether he had been directly involved in them or a mere spectator. Because he had the rank of officer, but also because of his artistic talent, the artist focused more on drawing maps or outlining the routes on which the operations took place. For this reason, he spent most of his time behind the front. However, due to the circles he belonged to, he learned important information about various aspects of the war.

The letters that we use as a documentary source are part, along with other documents, photographs, personal items or works of art, of the Satu Mare County Museum collection.³ Based on them, as well as on some excerpts from his memoirs, we shall try to present the painter's image of World War I, his representation of moments and experiences on the Italian front, where he encountered all the difficulties and vicissitudes of war. It should be pointed out that the letters he sent to his wife were not affected by military censorship. He attempted to deliver them via trustworthy individuals who could hand them directly to the addressee or her friends.

The letters preserved in the collection of the Satu Mare County Museum represent only a part of the correspondence Aurel Popp sent his wife. It is complemented by the "Aurel Popp" Fund from the Satu Mare County Department of the National Archives of Romania, where there are preserved a series of photographs, maps, notes and other letters sent from the two fronts (the one in Italy and the one in Russia) by the painter from Satu Mare, to his wife and to other family members (his mother and brothers). These documents complete the information about the period and the regions he passed through, together with the military units to which he belonged.

Aurel Popp, biographical data

A renowned painter, graphic artist and sculptor who belonged to the second generation of the Painting School from Baia Mare, Aurel Popp was born on 30 August 1878, in the village of Eriu, Căuaș commune, Sălaj County, in the present-day county of Satu Mare. His parents were Samuilă Popp, a local parish priest, and Maria Sopronyi, originating in Istrău. In fact, the Pops represent an old Romanian family that has given the community several generations of Greek-Catholic priests. In 1882, he was orphaned due to the loss of his father. As of that day, it was the mother who devoted her entire energy to raising and educating her four sons: Aurel, Ioan, Mihai and Octavian.

He attended primary school in the locality of Căuaș, and then in the commune Craidorolț and in the town of Carei. The years he spent in Carei as a high school student, at Piarist High School (1892-1899), had a great influence on the spirit of the future artist. It was also during this period that he made his first artistic attempts, which brought to light his impressive talent.⁴

³ Henreinafter: Col. MJSM.

⁴ Aurel Popp, *La capătul Unei vieți... fragmente de jurnal și alte scrieri*, Selection, translation, notes and foreword by Iudith Erdős, Satu Mare: Ed. Muzeului Sătmărean, 1999, p. 10.

After graduating from high school in 1899, he enrolled in the Higher School of Painting and Calligraphy from Budapest. In 1903 he received a scholarship to study in Italy, which he took full advantage of, visiting Rome, Siena, Perugia, Assisi and Orvieto. After graduation, he returned to Satu Mare, where he did not stay too long because he was conscripted and sent to Vienna to do his military service.

After completing his military service, he received a chair as a substitute teacher at Huedin. After a short period there, he returned to Satu Mare as a teacher at the Royal Roman Catholic High School (1906-1914).

In November 1907, he married Madzsar Irén, the younger daughter of Professor Madzsar János. "He had a famous past due to his fight against former Minister of Education Trefort and other dignitaries, these names causing his fame, but the greater his fame was, the lower was his salary [...] Of course, Madzsar János was on the side of the former owners, that is, of the Romanian church."⁵

In 1914, after the outbreak of World War I, he was summoned into the ranks of the Austro-Hungarian Army and participated in its military actions both on the Western and on the Eastern Front. The company to which he belonged was assigned to Honvéd Regiment 3 in Debrecen.⁶ The experience of actively participating in military operations was crucial to the subsequent evolution of his artistic vision with social involvement. He was embroiled in the turmoil of events from the autumn of 1918 and the spring of 1919, being a member of the Communist Directorate of Satu Mare and serving as Commissioner for problems of education and culture. He was the initiator of the civil guards in Satu Mare, whose role was to maintain public order and peace.

He was awarded the title of Emeritus Artist in 1958, and only two years later, on 8 August 1960, shortly before turning 81, he passed away and was buried in the family chapel.

The natural setting of the Isonzo region

The 12 armed clashes between Italy and Austria-Hungary, which took place during the period of World War I, went down in history as the Battles of Isonzo. This name comes from the river Isonzo (Soča), the military confrontations taking place along this valley. Most of the region is in present-day Slovenia, located between the northern Adriatic Sea and the springs of the river Isonzo. Doberdò Plateau represents the western extension of the Carso (Karst) Mountains, from the northern basin of the Adriatic Sea, being surrounded to the east by the Vallone Valley, south of the Adriatic Sea, west of the Isonzo and north of the river Wippach (the present-day Vipava). Its area is approximately 60 km².⁷

The Italian Front, the battles of Isonzo

Until May 1915, Italy maintained its neutrality towards the global conflict that broke out in 1914. On 23 May 1915, it declared war on Austria-Hungary, engaging in a long series of armed clashes. The incident that paved the way in this direction was

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 36.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 61.

⁷ <http://gebirgskrieg.heimat.eu/5116.htm>

the bombing of the Italian fleet in Venice by the dualist army, inflicting heavy losses thereupon.

Of the 12 clashes, 11 were Italian offensives without a concrete outcome, which caused the deaths of hundreds of thousands of soldiers. The Italian General Luigi Cadorna, a staunch advocate of frontal attack, aimed to break through the Slovenian plateau and conquer Ljubljana, thus threatening Vienna. Austro-Hungary was forced to move part of its forces away from the eastern front, into the area of the Isonzo River. Thus, the series of battles waged in this region began. In late October 1915, the German-Austrian troops managed, through a joint offensive, to break through the Italian front at Bovec (Flitsch), Kobarid (Karfreit) and Tolmin (Tolmein).⁸ To avoid being surrounded, the Italian Army was forced to withdraw on the Piave Valley.

General Luigi Cadorna believed that the Italian Army would be more successful if it conducted its attacks from the plateau in the eastern region of the river Isonzo. He also wanted the Italians to continue to advance northwards and to cross the mountains from the other side of the river, causing the withdrawal of the Austro-German Army. He did not expect the operations from the Isonzo to be easy. He was aware that the river would overflow. During the period 1914-1918 there was even registered a record in terms of the rains that fell in the region.

The Italian general's plans could not be implemented, his army facing a change due to the Austro-Germans' mode of action. Thus, the Italians had to neutralise their opponents' defence, carried out from the mountains. To achieve this goal, the Italians had to cross the river, a hurdle that they could not overcome in a satisfactory manner.

In the southern region, along the coastline, the geographical features were also in favour of the Austro-German Army.

In the first battle, the heavy fighting took place on the plateau of Doberdò, located between Monfalcone and Sagrado, in order to reach the bridge in Gorizia (Görz), whereby the Isonzo valley could be crossed. The Italians lost 15,000 people, while Austria-Hungary had 10,000 dead and wounded.

Regarding the echo that the fights waged here produced among the Austro-Hungarian Army, it is very suggestive what the Hungarian writer Zalka Máté⁹ describes in his novel *Doberdò*: "Doberdò. A strange word. As if there was a beating of the drums and a gloomy rolling could be heard. [...] The name Doberdò did not refer just to the village, but also to the southward plateau, spreading along 10-15 km. This rocky region, with poor vegetation, was the territory most heavily drenched in blood from the Italian front along the Isonzo section. The echo of the name Doberdò sounds, to Hungarian ears, like a drum. Perhaps that's where the name of this village comes from, since blood was not spilled only here. [...] But the entire section of the front line was baptised Doberdò by the Hungarian Army, because this name was related to the drummers, reminding us of the continuous shooting of weapons and the

⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁹ Zalka Máté (1896-1937), a Hungarian writer. His real name was Béla Frankl. He participated in the battles on the Italian front and then in those from Russia, being incarcerated as a prisoner of war in the Russian camps and coming thus under the influence of the communist ideals.

bloody storm. Doberdò acquired a grim reputation at the end of 1915, but at the beginning of 1916 it became synonymous with the notion of the death plains.”¹⁰

The clashes from the second battle took place in the region Monte San Michele and Gorizia (Görz), the Italian Army managing to occupy a part of the Doberdò Plateau. This time, the number of those who died or were injured on the battlefield was impressively large: 42,000 Italians and 46,000 Austro-German soldiers.

The fights of the third battle continued to aim the occupation of the Doberdò Plateau, failing to open the way to Monte San Michele. This time, Italy suffered far greater losses compared to the forces of the Central Powers, namely 60,000 men, compared to 42,000 Austro-Hungarian dead and wounded.

The “battle for Parliament” was the name under which the fourth military confrontation in the Isonzo region was known. Its name came from the fact that the Italian General Luigi Cadorna wanted at all costs to obtain a victory, since there were forthcoming elections for Parliament, but again, the Italian Army suffered a defeat. It organised more offensives, but to no avail, the attacks resulting in heavy casualties on both sides.

About these clashes, the letters that the painter Aurel Popp sent his wife represent a rich source of information, which is presented in much detail. They represent a kind of a diary of events that happened over the course of a few days. Thus, he noted all the events and changes that had occurred since his previous letter, until the moment he had the possibility of sending the next one. Because he also communicated to his wife secret information that he had had access to: “You must on no account give my letter to others! Much of what I wrote are war secrets and I can have big problems because of this,”¹¹ Aurel Popp did not use too often the military post to send his letters. He sought trustworthy people he knew, who went back home on leave or who came to visit the front, asking them to hand these letters to his wife.

In the lines he sent his wife, one can find the image of the regions he went through with his unit, the atmosphere on the front line, in the trenches, but also behind the lines. Thus, in the letter he began on 7 January 1916, Aurel Popp wrote the following: “On 28 December, we set off from Palitsche. We set off at 3 in the morning. Palitsche is high. But not near Görz. It was a crummy village, we couldn’t even get any food [...]. In Palitsche we withdrew every day. A horrendously ugly area. Giants mountains and cliffs at every step, walking was a nightmare. I got very, very tired. I struggled all day and in the evening, I listened exhausted to the cannons firing. I realised that my current situation was much worse. Maybe it’s good that man gets used to things, because here it’s quite rare not to hear the sound of cannons.”

“The road was terrible. We’re seized by this anger that God knows what situation we are getting into, that we do not count in the world. I thought we would directly reach the line of fire and, why should I deny this, my dear, like everyone else, I was intimidated too. From Palitsche, we were taken by train to St. Daniel. So we were off to the front of St. Michel. Knowing this, you can imagine with were our feelings when we got off the train. From here, they steered us into this village, where

¹⁰ http://nagyhaboru.blog.hu/2010/09/29/a_doberdo_fogalma

¹¹ The letter of Aurel Popp, 31 January 1916, Col. MJSM, inv. no. 4729.

we are now: Tomasovica, more precisely Infantry Regiment 3 of Debrecen, with the Honvéd. This is the regiment that was stationed here before our arrival. I took it as a bad sign that they had big losses during their last confrontation. Because it is a Hungarian, this regiment is always sent to the roughest places. This must be a good place, that's what I thought, and sadness came over me as it always does when we get in less important situations. Luckily, I was wrong. When we arrived, Regiment 3 had been in the shelter for a long time. And it has remained thus since I got here. Until when? We'll see at the end of the letter."

"Our regiment always gets to the most dangerous places. To the side of the Doberdò Plateau that is closer to St. Michel. Those who came back are talking about terrible cannon shots, especially about the battle of the Isonzo they say it was terrible, particularly since it was then that our withdrawal really began. I thought then that how many of us, people of 18-45 years, will return. The regiment is made up of such people [...] Those who are at the front have no shelter. Those at the rear are somewhat protected. There's no place for sleep where they are sending Regiment 3; because it is a Hungarian regiment, they are deployed, of course, in the most terrible places. On the line where I will be, they say it is 6-8 km farther back than the front line. From there I could escape somehow – perhaps I can escape still [...] This village is 15-20 km away from the front, but planes fly over it every day and sometimes they even bomb it terribly. Sure, bombs fall also away from the village because they are constantly attacked by cannons and rifle shots. The area is mountainous, with cliffs. The people are Italians-Slavs and they are extremely ill-natured. One cannot drink water at all. For drinking, rainwater is collected in tanks. Water for the army is transported by car. What we can see here, how many people are fed, it's like in stories. The main road passes through our village and, thus, everything passes before our eyes. Food, potatoes, meat, clothes, shoes and ammunition are permanently transported with hundreds and hundreds of carts. From St. Daniel to the front rows of carts can be seen and there are a lot of soldiers marching or drilling. Today the heir to the throne is here and he is decorating those who have distinguished themselves. The other day, on 13, Archduke Joseph decorated many people. So, there is a parade, but at the same time the cannons are roaring and planes are flying over the area. I would sit quietly and I would drink more here, at home, in my room, of 6 feet by 6, in my drawing room, if I did not have to go to the colonel at 12½ to discuss this and that about the fuss tomorrow, but I need to hurry."

"I have not yet written about the furniture. I'm staying in the same room made of earth, with Till Guy and a sergeant. The beds are dirty, with lice, so, normally, I couldn't be sleeping there. But somehow I have got used to it. I can sleep peacefully. It's not cold at all. It's a little frosty now, but in my sleeping place from the south area it is enormously warm. So, I have carried useless things with me, and I will have to throw many of them away."¹²

The letter he began on 31 January 1916 describes in detail the road to the frontline, the manner in which the soldiers were forced to move to avoid being

¹² The letter of Aurel Popp, 7 January 1916, Col. MJSM, inv. no. 4728.

spotted by the enemies, the emotion felt during the journey and the confrontations, the repeated attacks of the Italians, the losses incurred by the battalion, the shortcomings endured both in the barracks and during the troop movements, homesickness, the thoughts about the loved ones and the fear of no longer seeing them again. It is not surprising that the landscapes are viewed and described with the mind of an artist, a person who can find beauty and sensitivity even in the ruins left by the explosion of grenades.

“Where should I begin? In the last letter, when they sent me to the post, I wrote about Tomasevica. [...] From T., I went to Sagrado, where the regiment came after me. We stayed here one day, and then we went into position. I learned that I also had to go and also my new commander assigned me to the battalion, and so I did remain somewhat safe. [...] I set off with the others on 17 at 5 ½ through Markodini (Montfalcone) directly along the line of fire. And from here, and I say this with all sincerity and not to boast about this, here it is, I write everything in detail, I felt reassured that, thank God, I got over it and, like many others, no harm was done to me. It was already late at night when, on the road strewn with holes from the grenades fired day and night, we were caught up with by the battalion in the village of Markodini that was 7-8 km away. The road was terrible, every moment we were expecting cannon fires from our opponents, but no one would have confessed and said a word about how fretful they were inside. Only the footsteps and the heavy gasping could be heard, because everyone focused very intently. Nearer and nearer, we could hear rifle shots and, under Markodini, in the dark, we could already see the light of each gunshot, which surpassed all expectations. The road became increasingly worse. We were tired and I was so sleepy. We stealthily passed through Markodini. The many ruins which signalled the village were exceedingly pictorial in the night light and I, with my naive artistic soul, could focus on nothing but the formidable images that I saw between these ruins, even though, increasingly more often, I had been hearing here and there that buzzing sound that a bullet shooting out of a gun makes. Beyond the village, to reach our position, we had to pass by a high fence made of stone. Another 6 kilometres from M. From here, every step was a serious danger. Along the fence we had to walk ducking our backs, in some places we even had to go on all fours, lest we should get hit by a bullet. We had to keep walking, so we went with unbelievable indolence and did not think for one minute that we could meet the fate of those bandaged men who passed by us to the place of first aid. It was a difficult journey. Some prayed aloud, we had certainly never thought of God so earnestly and we had never begged him for help so much. Although this was only the beginning. When in the first big hole, the sinkhole, we came across our battalion commander, the lieutenant colonel, we all thought we had arrived. From all sides we could hear rifle shots up close. From here, however, we have had to advance along three similar sinkholes until we got to ours, which was linked to a 3-400 m long trench. The trench was dug in the ground, provided at the edges with rocks and sandbags, and it looked like a wall. But even here we had to move on all fours and as quietly as possible, for we were slightly exposed. When we went down into the trench after the first sinkhole, we met with the Czech battalion which was returning from the shift and withdrawing, outraged that we were being a little loud. When we were past

them, there was a chilling sound, followed by atmospheric pressure and a huge blast. We immediately jumped flat onto our stomachs, on the ground, and there we waited, without a word, for our trouble or our luck. In the dead silence between the three grenade explosions, all we could hear was the beating of our hearts. We waited for a while and then we left the sinkhole now crawling, now standing, now on all fours. [...]. I woke up because of the terrible noise of the grenade explosion, like I wrote Otto too, while I was still in the shelter. It passed right above the sinkhole, so it was impossible for our defence to shoot. Later I got used with these grenades because the foul Italian fired 3-4 every quarter or half an hour. I spent the days in the sleeping place. I did not have to go out, I had no other job but to do sketches (map sketches) for the reports of my lieutenant colonel. [...] Shotguns were heard day and night up in the shelters where the battalions were. [...] I think there were 15-16 dead and about 30 wounded in our battalion. They say it's not much, but I can't estimate. I was tired, I kept thinking of you and all I feared was the unexpected. [...] For 9 days I ate only in the evening, I did not get undressed, and I never took my boots off. We did not wash because we could not find a way to do such things. But it was all right. In the end, everyone had got used to this. The worst situation was that of the soldiers in the service of the officers, among them Tatár too, because they had to go to the first sinkhole for dinner. This was not too pleasant, but they, poor men, they did it because they too were hungry when the evening came. [...] I also inspected what the battlefield was like. Full of stones. In position they had built trenches. Just rocks everywhere. They rose from the ground as if they had been planted there. So, wherever it hits, a grenade scatters its pieces with a terrible power. That is why you must never show your figure, as they say. You must always move stealthily. Day and night! There is only one quiet period, approximately between 8 and 10, before the meal. Then there is no sound, everyone is sleeping, only the guards are watching carefully. Sometimes our men or the Italians organise raids. These are terrible things. For example, once when we were in position, the Italians fired their cannons for 36 hours without a break, we had all gone underground and were waiting for them to finish. Grace to you, Lord, for we have survived this too!"¹³

The twelfth battle, called the "Battle of Good Friday" (Battaglia di Caporetto), which took place on 24-27 October 1917, brought about a change of the front line. The German-Austrian offensive was led by General Otto von Below. A decisive factor for the Austro-German victory was the use of phosgene gas in battle. On the morning of 24 October 1917, the offensive started, managing to create a breach in the Italian defence, which was numerically superior. Italian soldiers had only two alternatives: either to die by poisoning with phosgene gas or to retreat. On the evening of the second day, except for Monte Matajur, the Italian defence was destroyed. The front line was modified, as the upper section of the Isonzo Valley had been occupied by the Austrians. During the following days, there came the biggest defeats ever suffered by Italy. The losses were also caused by the increasingly widespread panic among the Italian soldiers.

¹³ The letter of Aurel Popp, 31 January 1916, Col. MJSM, inv. no. 4729.

Following the victories obtained, the Austro-German Army managed to reach Piave, where it was stopped by the British and the French troops, which had come to the aid of the Italians, getting also involved in their reorganisation.

The letter begun on 19 February 1916 is tense, full of concern for those at home, for the situation of the family, of the children, of the wife. Its lines reveal the soldier's lack of morale, his acute demoralisation caused by the harsh conditions on the frontline, by the psychic tension to which he is subjected because of uncertainty, the unknown, his alienation from the people and the places that are dear to him. "I told you, in general, I cannot even imagine what is at home. I thank God every day that you have no problems and this protects me too and it gives me peace that one day passes after another and every day I'm glad it went past. I try to not fret because, anyway, there's nothing I can do. [...] I constantly keep myself occupied so as not to give myself time for turmoil. But the evenings! When all the corners are dark, my longing for you seizes me [...] Here, isolated from the world, under the ground, there's so many worries bothering my soul, that what I just wrote is nothing. At night we dream such nonsense, for all day long we stay in a place of edginess and craziness, we almost unconsciously throw ourselves into sleep and we sleep so deeply, as only here we could. And yet, all kinds of crazy dreams get a hold of our brain. Last night, I cried again, but I don't remember why. I expect good news, it may be in the mail! The mail comes only in the evening and we worry all day long."¹⁴

In 1916, late in the autumn, the 20th Honvéd Division, which included the Regiment 3 of Debrecen, one of whose members was Aurel Popp, together with the Honvéd Regiment from Alba Iulia and Oradea, reached the Russian front, where only a few weeks later, they swore the oath of allegiance to the last emperor of the House of Habsburg. But at the end of the war found him in Eger, where his unit had been stationed since the end of 1917.

It is interesting to compare how Aurel Popp presents, in his journal, the Italy that he saw and experienced as a college student, when he had come here on a scholarship, and the Italy that he encountered during the war. The experiences are entirely different, but they are expressed each time through the eyes and the vision of an artist, which he never abandoned, even at moments of danger in the war. During the first period, the young painter was astounded by the beauty and grandeur that were revealed to him, he was overwhelmed with joy, but he was also driven by the desire to discover as much as Italy could offer an artist. "I wish I could have said more about the trip to Italy [...] Our worthy teacher wanted to show us the monuments and museums of Siena, Perugia and Assisi, which he actually succeeded in doing, especially since everyone was gaping at each and every monument or painting [...] I was thinking I was in Italy, where there are so many beautiful things [...] I started studying the map: how and which way I could reach Rome. Or at least Orvieto, where I could see some works by Michelangelo. [...] I stayed one day in Orvieto, and I spent even that time in the cathedral, where I could marvel at the huge painting by Michelangelo. [...] The next day I left for Ancona [...] Oh, Ancona. That fishing

¹⁴ The letter of Aurel Popp, 19 February 1916, Col. MJSM, inv. no. 4729.

village, built helter-skelter, how beautiful it was in the morning! [...] Like a story I'd dreamed about long before, that's what my journey to Ancona was like."¹⁵

His talent and artistic vision never left him during the war. Both in the letters he sent to his loved ones and in his journal pages, the image of the Italian front is rendered through the eyes and the soul of a painter. Eloquent, but with much finesse, Aurel Popp manages to capture in writing the hardships of war, expressing his revolt against what happened to him and his comrades. "In November 1915, we reached the Italian front. Cold winds were blowing among the rocks of the Carstic Mountains (Karst). Night drills were carried out in snow up to our knees and in a biting cold, and I, the eternal rebel, at the morning roundup, I would more than once loudly trumpet my grievances in front of my 17-year old comrades. It was already snowing in December, when, after a few weeks of front drills, our infantry company was assigned to Honvéd Regiment 3 in Debrecen. In January 1916, we reached the front line, where, within two weeks, only a few of those 17-year old men were still alive in my company. We had taken a terrible bite of the horrors of war..."¹⁶

The happiness and the bliss from the first period were replaced by insecurity, revolt and disappointment. The mountains, the ruins caused by explosions, cold and rain took the place of works of art, the sun and the sea. But nothing of the war atmosphere could dampen the artistic vision through which Italy was lived, studied, sketched, drawn and described in his letters and in the pages of his journal. They are a testimony about the military dimensions of the conflict, about the life of the soldiers from or behind the Italian front, about their concerns, their thoughts and their hopes, attempting to achieve a complete picture of the war.

The period Aurel Popp spent in Italy, either for artistic documentation or on the front, marked his life and work. His memoirs and his correspondence with his family members and friends represent an important source of information for the different aspects of life during that time.

¹⁵ Aurel Popp, *op. cit.* p. 29.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 61.

**BISHOP DR. H. C. AUGUSTIN PACHA AND THE
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC
DIOCESE OF TIMIȘOARA (1923-1948)
(Part II)**

Abstract: With an old academic tradition, the Theological Academy in Timișoara adapted to the new social and political conditions after 1919, the institution practically becoming, in 1930, the seminary of the newly organised Diocese of Timișoara. Bishop Augustin Pacha's concern for the training of the indigenous clergy was translated into reality both through the appointment of professors of unquestionable academic standing at this school and by sending an entire plethora of seminarians to study abroad, who later also became professors at the institute. Subjected to particularly strong pressures already in 1946, the Theological Academy was abusively dismantled by the communist state in 1948. It clandestinely survived until 1950, but after that it permanently closed its doors, the students continuing their training at Alba Iulia.

Keywords: theological academy, seminary, diocese, Pacha, bishop

The Theological Academy² and Bishop Dr. H. C. Augustin Pacha (1923-1950)³

In the capital of Banat, immediately after taking over the leadership of the Timișoara Apostolic Administration, Canon Augustin Pacha realised the decreasing numbers of Hungarian-speaking students, in parallel with the constantly increasing number of German speakers, and demanded the introduction of Hungarian language courses, in light of the fact that these future priests would at one point come to serve in parishes with Hungarian parishioners.

During this period, due to the departure of Bishop Glattfelder and the lack of a consecrated bishop, who might have the ability to ordain priests, the issue that emerged concerned the place where the future priests of the Apostolic Administration of Timișoara would be elevated to this capacity. Pacha's solution was one that took into account the new political and national conditions, but also the bad relationship between Glattfelder and the Romanian authorities on his departure. Glattfelder had proposed to Pacha that he should send the candidates to the priesthood to Szeged, so

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² The Institute was called, at the time, the "Roman Catholic Theological Academy." The name of seminary was used in parallel with that of academy.

³ This study is structured in two parts: an overview of the creation and evolution of this theological institute of academic rank, starting from medieval times until the end of World War I (see the study published in the previous issue of *AMN*), and a presentation of the evolution of the Roman Catholic Theological Academy from Timișoara under the pastoral care of Bishop Augustin Pacha, starting from the year 1923 and ending in 1950, the moment of the effective suppression of the seminary, which had actually already become clandestine in 1948 (the study in this issue of *AMN*).

that they may be consecrated there. Pacha, however, refused the bishop's proposal and decided to send all the candidates to Oradea, where Emeric Bjelik, auxiliary Bishop of Oradea and titular Bishop of Thasus, was to celebrate the ordinations for the Banatian administration. This was solved thus in the period 1923-1927, that is until Pacha himself was consecrated as bishop, receiving the faculty of ordaining priests.⁴

Another serious problem of the new apostolic administrator was that of ensuring a well prepared teaching staff for the seminary, as well as the seminarians. While the latter problem was not an easy one to solve and Pacha had to rely henceforth only on local resources and not on the surplus of students or priests that had arrived, prior to the end of World War I, from present-day Slovakia and Hungary, the problem of the teaching staff could be solved in time. To this end, he sent young students or priests to study in Western universities or seminaries. Notable examples included: Adalbert Boros and Ferdinand Cziza in Rome, Julius Lamoth in Bonn, Anton Schuler and Lorenz Zirenner in Münster/Westphalia, Nikolaus Csátáry and Franz Kräuter in Vienna, and Josef Schwarz in Innsbruck.⁵ They all returned home or subsequently obtained doctorates in Philosophy, Theology, Church History and Sociology.⁶ The costs of schooling these young people were ensured by the *Reichsverband für das katholische Auslandsdeutschtum* (*Imperial Association for the Catholic Germans Abroad*), a Catholic association that supported the pastoral care and development of the German-speaking Catholic communities outside Germany.⁷ To this improvement of the academic level was added one at the spiritual level, as spiritual retreats for seminarians and the clergy were permanently organised, either in the seminary or at Maria-Radna. These exercises were attended, each time, by Pacha personally. Also in this sense, of improving intellectual and spiritual life, the bishop, permanently invited, through the Cathedral Chapter and/or the management of the Theological Academy, guest professors and various foreign intellectuals who gave various lectures for the young students and for the priests, as well as for high school students. In this regard, mention should be made of the lectures delivered by professors from the University of Münster at the seminary in the spring of 1927, during Easter week, in parallel with other courses held in the "Banatia" High School for the students of this pedagogical institute for primary teachers.⁸

The standards of this Theological Academy belonging, as of 1930, to the newly established Roman Catholic Diocese of Timișoara, were visible both prior to this date and subsequently, even through the visits of some high prelates or even monarchs, like Carol II, who came to see the seminary and the neighbouring high school

⁴ Franz Kräuter, *Erinnerungen an Bischof Pacha. Ein Stück Banater Heimatgeschichte*, Bukarest: ADZ Verlag, 1995, p. 80; Claudiu Călin, *Dr. h.c. Augustin Pacha (1870-1954)*. "Succint excurs biografic al primului episcop romano-catolic de Timișoara," in *Banatica*, no. 19, Reșița, 2009, p. 239.

⁵ Franz Kräuter, *op.cit.*, pp. 84-85;

⁶ Anton Peter Petri, *Lehrkörper und Anzahl der Theologen im Temeschburger Priesterseminar (1806-1948)*, in the series **Neue Banater Bücherei**, No. VII, Mühlendorf/ Inn, [no publisher], 1984, pp. 3-6, 11.

⁷ *Archivum Dioecesanum Timisoarense [ADT]*, Fund: Priesterseminar, Packet: Acta Varia: 1917-1950, the letters of Emil Clemens Scherer, Rector of the Theological Academy in Berlin, to Augustin Pacha, from 3 and 15 February 1933, unnumbered.

⁸ Franz Kräuter, *op.cit.*, pp. 85, 93.

“Banatia” (the Catholic German *preparandia* for teachers), accompanied by Prime Minister Nicolae Iorga.⁹ The series of visitors included: Emeric Bjelik, military bishop, in 1916, Lipot Árpád Varady, Archbishop of Kalocsa (former priest of the Diocese of Cenad), in 1917, Francesco Marmaggi, apostolic nuncio in Bucharest in July 1921, Raymund Netzhammer, Archbishop of Bucharest, in 1922, Rafael Rodić, Archbishop of Belgrade-Smederevo in 1924, Alexandru Cisar, Archbishop of Bucharest, in August 1925, and Mihai Robu, Bishop of Iași, in December 1925.¹⁰ To the list of high guests was added Archbishop Andrea Cassulo, Apostolic Nuncio, in 1943, who arrived in Timișoara to visit the Soviet prisoners’ camp on the outskirts of the city, but also to be with Bishop Pacha on the jubilee of fifty years of priesthood. After the Pontifical Mass, celebrated by the jubilar in the Dome, the dinner and the ceremony, restricted in terms of pomp and the number of guests (there were, in any case, 100 people), were held in the festive hall of the Theological Academy. The guests who visited the seminary on this occasion included: Márton Áron, Bishop of Alba Iulia, Ioan Bălan, Greek-Catholic Bishop of Lugoj, Nicolae Brînzeu, Provost of the Greek-Catholic Cathedral Chapter of Lugoj and Vasile Lăzărescu, the Orthodox Bishop of Timișoara.¹¹

The economic situation of the country in the early 1930s was particularly difficult. Higher interest rates at the banks, high rates of inflation, the plight of agriculture, the situation of wages – all these were reflected negatively on the remuneration of the bishop, of the chapter members or of the professors at the seminary. Under the new monetary law of 7 February 1929, which established the regaining of national currency reconvertibility, it was stipulated that only a small portion of bank debts should be acquitted, the law also applying on arrears to the payments of the parishioners’ contributions to the financial support of their own religious denomination. Amid these realities and even – internally, at the organisational-ecclesiastical level, amid conflicts between the local church communities and some of the believers, debtors of these taxes¹² – there were even periods of up to a year in which the state was unable to pay its employees, in this context, neither the bishop, nor the professors from the Theological Academy receiving any remuneration from the state.¹³

From the point of view of ecclesiastical discipline, the Theological Academy from Timișoara was subject to the local bishop, who always had the last word in appointing the seminary rector and professors. However, the Holy See also had a central body of coordination and control over the theological institutes. This was the so-called *Sacra Congregatio de Seminariis et Studiorum Universitatibus*. Periodically, the prefect of this Roman Congregation had the obligation to send an Apostolic

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 116.

¹⁰ Faragó János, *A csanádi kisebb papnevelde története. Szent Gellértől napjainkig (1030-1925)*, Timișoara (Temesvár): Tipografia “Der Landbote,” 1925, pp. 170-171.

¹¹ Franz Kräuter, *op.cit.*, p. 146; Claudiu Călin, *Augustin Pacha (1870-1954)*, p. 249.

¹² See *Statutele unitare și obligătoare pentru Comunitățile Bisericești în Dieceza Romano-Catolică de Timișoara*, Timișoara: Tipografia “Victoria,” 1934, pp. 1-39.

¹³ Franz Kräuter, *op.cit.*, p. 117.

Visitor to take the pulse of life in the seminaries, at the scene of the place. In this regard, in the summer of 1939, Cardinal Giuseppe Pizzardo sent to Romania the monk Joseph Rousseau from the Order of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, in order to visit the seminaries of the Latin-rite dioceses in our country. The report following this visit, issued on 8 December 1939, contains only general recommendations for the dioceses of Romania, essentially being a document containing directives that regard the discipline of theological schools. It emphasises the spiritual aspects of the life of seminarians and the seminary, demanding frequent confessions and the existence of appointed confessors, discipline in spirit and in urban social behaviour, the existence of printed regulations of these institutes, training focussed on four years of study, two of Philosophy and two of Theology, the appointment of well-trained teachers, the study of special subjects, such as Ascetic Theology, the Doctrine of Catholic Action, the Rites of Oriental Churches and History.¹⁴

The issue of general, unitary regulations for the Roman Catholic Seminaries and Theological Academies in Romania came, in the first half of 1943, under the attention of the Ministry of Culture and Religious Denominations and, respectively, of the State Secretariat of Religious Denominations and Arts, the Directorate of Historical Denominations. To this end, the ministry created a special commission, which included Anton Durcovici, then Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Bucharest. Unable to offer any solution, the commission was dissolved. Following verbal consultations held between the Nunciature and the State Secretariat of Religious Denominations, it was decided that, in accordance with Article XVI¹⁵ of the Concordat between the Kingdom of Romania and the Holy See, the Latin episcopal ordinariates in the country should submit their proposals for a set of regulations, which were to be processed, assembled together in a unitary text and subsequently subjected to the Holy See for approval. This, in turn, mandated the Nunciature to oversee this process lest the episcopal ordinariates should somehow have their freedom to instruct and form their own clergy restricted. On 15 September 1943, these intentions of the state were brought to the awareness of Bishop Augustin Pacha by Nuncio Andrea Cassulo. The answer, containing Bishop Pacha's point of view, came before too long. Although it contained only two points, the Banatian bishop's letter of 23 September drew extensive attention to aspects of law enshrined

¹⁴ ADT, Fund: Priesterseminar, Packet: Acta Varia: 1917-1950, the letters of Cardinal Pizzardo, Prefect of *Sacra Congregatio de Seminariis et Studiorum Universitatibus*, to Augustin Pacha, of 19 April and, respectively, 8 December 1939, unnumbered.

¹⁵ "Article XVI § 1. In each Diocese, the Seminary for training the young Clergy shall be under exclusive dependency to the bishop. § 2. The professors shall be Romanian citizens, apart from the exceptions permitted, by common agreement, by the Holy See and the Royal Government. § 3. The program of studies shall be fixed by the competent ecclesiastical authority. § 4. In the seminaries, the study of the national language and history shall be mandatory, according to the schedule established by the Diocesan Bishops' Conference, in agreement with the competent Ministry, to the extent that this does not hinder theological studies and in such manner as to be compatible with the religious character of this Institute; to this end, the said Minister shall be informed of the schedule referred to in the preceding paragraph." See *Lege pentru ratificarea Concordatului*, No. 1842, of the Official Gazette, Part I, *Legi Decrete, Direcțiunea "Monitorul Oficial"* și *Imprimeriilor Statului*, București, Wednesday, 12 June 1929, pp. 4478-4489. Article XVI of the Concordat can be found on p. 4483.

in the Concordat: 1. The exclusive and free right of the Church to organise their theological education system (there are mentioned here: Canons 1352 and 1354 of the Code of Canon Law (1917 edition), Art. XVI, § 1 and § 3 of the Concordat and Art. 15 of the Law of Religious Denominations), issues that also applied to the Orthodox Church, and the fact that the loyalty of the Church State was also reflected in that in the seminaries and in the theological academies, the national language and the history of the country were taught as an independent subject, according to the rules established between the episcopal ordinariates and the competent ministry. These elements were, at that time, fully respected in the Theological Academy of Timișoara. The bishop noted that the theology students from Timișoara came from public high schools where these subjects were taught thoroughly and verified through serious public examinations. For this reason, he considered that any interference of the state in this respect was superfluous. The ordinary having referred to the development of common rules for the seminaries of the ordinariates throughout the Kingdom of Romania, paragraph 2 of Bishop Pacha's response reminded that bishops were granted, under the Code of Canon Law, the right to establish and regulate, through their own measures and regulations, approved by the local bishop, the activity of theological academic institutes in which they could train their clergy in accordance with the local or regional realities and needs (C.I.C. Can. 1354 § 1, Can. 1357 § 1, § 3, Concordat Art. XVI § 1, § 3). In light of these explanations, insofar as he was concerned, Bishop Pacha wanted to guarantee these rights, without any interference of the state or of any civil power, which he considered harmful, worthy of being rejected and avoided.¹⁶ Augustin Pacha's position reveals a certain fear of state interference with almost exclusively canonical aspects and with the education of the young clergy. His position was likely to be substantiated by the existing political context at the time: Romania, as an ally of Nazi Germany, could be placed, in this aspect, in the political and ideological service of the Reich, which was not desirable at all as regards the issue of the education of the clergy and which, according to Bishop Pacha, was entirely harmful and to be avoided.

Noting the interest of the authorities in this matter, Bishop Pacha submitted to the ministry in question two memoranda in 1943: No. 3235 and No. 3653. Unfortunately, their content is unknown to us, the documents no longer being preserved. The official response arrived on 23 December 1943, demanding that regulations governing the organisation and functioning of a Roman Catholic Theological Institute in Timișoara should be drawn up, stating the rules for the recruitment of the teaching staff, in agreement with the published laws, in force, on similar, state education. This regulation was to be submitted to the state and published. Prior to the submission of this document, Professors Adalbert Blaskovics and Antoniu Schultzer could only be recognised as substitute professors and not as full professors.

¹⁶ *ADT*, Fund: Priesterseminar, Packet: Acta Varia: 1917-1950, the Correspondence between the Apostolic Nuncio Andrea Cassulo and Augustin Pacha on the matter of a single Regulation governing the diocesan seminaries in Romania, 1943, unnumbered.

In the case of this document, Bishop Pacha resorted to a simple solution: he submitted the ministerial address to Rector Josef Korner and requested him, on 29 December 1944, that regulations governing the hiring of the faculty of the Theological Academy should be issued, in compliance with the canonical and legal (civil) provisions in force. Rector Korner's reply came only on 25 February 1944, the priest-professor noting, in his turn, that unitary regulations of this kind, for all the Roman Catholic dioceses across the country, negotiated and obtained through the Nunciature, would not be a bad idea at all. Korner's draft regulations, submitted both in German and in Romanian to the bishop, comprised nine points. The very first point states that "The right to appoint the professors of the Academy lies exclusively with the diocesan bishop" (sic!). Paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 refer to the qualities that must be met by the future professors: to excel in science, virtuous life and restraint, to have – preferably – a doctorate in a theological university recognised by the Holy See and to be Romanian citizens, of course, outside the exceptions allowed by mutual agreement "of the Holy See and the Royal Government." The fifth point lists the departments, six in number: 1.- for the "Romanian national subjects,"¹⁷ 2.- for Bible study, 3.- for Philosophy, 4.- for Dogmatics, 5.- for Canon Law and Moral Theology, 6.- for Ecclesiastical History and Pastoral Theology.¹⁸

Advancement from substitute to full professors was made after two years of operation. The bishop was the one who appointed them. They had to teach during these two years in order to automatically become tenured professors. This was referred to under the sixth point of the envisaged regulations.

Points seven and eight related to some salary rights, benefices and pension rights, of which the latter could be raised only by the clergy pension fund, pertaining to the Diocese of Timișoara. This last point seems to have been subsequently deleted from the draft regulation. Having been preserved in the diocesan archives of Timișoara, this draft regulation shows corrections in this regard.

On the last point, the ninth, it was stated that the diocesan bishop had the right to depose the Professors of Theology from office at any time. No details are provided on the conditions under which these dismissals could be made.

The points of this draft regulation were submitted by Augustin Pacha to the Apostolic Nunciature on 28 February 1944, with the mention that the text fully respected the provisions of paragraph 1 of Article XVI of the Concordat signed by the Kingdom of Romania and the Holy See in 1929. Nuncio Andrea Cassulo replied to Bishop Pacha on 4 March 1944, in a letter acknowledging the receipt of his proposal on the regulation in question and requesting him not to engage, for the moment, in any negotiations with the Romanian state, given the superior nature of the issue.

¹⁷ The bill for a Regulation submitted by Dr. Josef Korner was in perfect agreement with the provisions of the Concordat, Article XVI, §§ 1-4, but added some small amendments of a moral, academic and administrative nature.

¹⁸ *ADT*, Fund: Priesterseminar, Packet: Acta Varia: 1917-1950, the Correspondence between the Apostolic Nuncio Andrea Cassulo and Augustin Pacha on the matter of a single Regulation governing the diocesan seminaries in Romania, the bill for a Regulation submitted by Dr. Korner to Bishop Pacha, 1943, unnumbered.

Furthermore, the nuncio assured the bishop that the Holy See had been informed of this fact and that the Papal State would demand compliance with said provisions of Article XVI of the Concordat. In addition, Cassulo asked Pacha if, at any time in the past, the seminary in Timișoara had depended in any way on the state authorities on matters other than the provisions concerning the professors' citizenship and the subjects taught in Romanian. Again, on 14 March 1944, the bishop requested the rector of the seminary a competent and adequate response to the inquiries coming from Nuncio Cassulo. Three days later, on 17 March, rector Josef Korner informed Bishop Pacha that the seminary had always been under free diocesan authority, the state demanding, at most, some statistics about the number of professors and students, just once a "Syllabus" of the subjects taught and, also just once, a control of the subject matters to be taught in Romanian. According to Rector Josef Korner, these relations with the state had always been kept within the limits specified by the Concordat. On the other hand, the professors' salaries had always been paid by the state, which had, in fact, established their amount. Initially, even the newly appointed professors received a full salary, being recognised by the state as "provisionally tenured professors." Only in 1934 did the two new professors employed, Julius Lamo¹⁹ and Adalbert Boros, receive only 80% of their salary, being recognised as "substitute professors." After four years, however, without any formality being undertaken by the Theological Academy, the state supplemented the salary of the two and recognised them as "provisionally tenured professors." The situation changed, however, for the teachers employed in 1937 and 1938 (Adalbert Blaskovics²⁰ and Anton Schulter²¹). After the four years had passed, the episcopal ordinariate

¹⁹ *Julius Lamo* (1907-1967), born at Deta, studied at the Theological Academy in Timișoara, being ordained as a priest by Bishop Augustin Pacha in his native village of Deta in 1932. He activated for about a year as chaplain at Cenad, then he was appointed as a Professor of Theology at Timișoara. Since 1937, among others, he was appointed as manciple of the academy. In 1946 he was transferred as a parish priest in Șandra (Timiș County). In the last part of his life, he worked as a parish priest in Pișchia (Timiș County). He died at Jebel on 4 November 1967, being buried in Deta. See *Schematismus Cleri Dioecesis Timișoaraensis pro Anno Domini 1948*, Timișoara: Typis Typographiae "Victoria," 1948, p. 114.

²⁰ *Adalbert Blaskovics* (1895-1981), born at Oravița (Caraș-Severin County), studied theology in Timișoara, being ordained as a priest in the town by the Bega River in 1917. He studied in Vienna (Augustineum) between 1917 and 1918, obtaining his PhD in Theology here. He served in several parishes until 1935. Later he was appointed Professor of Religion at Timișoara, at the "Banatia" Pedagogical Institute for Roman Catholic Teachers and prefect of studies in Emericanum. In 1937 he became a member of the examination board for Catholic teachers and a professor at the Theological Academy. In 1943 he was appointed as a parish priest in Șagu (Arad County). In his old age, he retired to Reșița, where he helped as a priest-chaplain. He died on 22 May 1981, in Reșița. See *Schematismus 1948*, p. 103.

²¹ *Anton Schulter* (1907-1998), born in Lovrin (Timiș County), studied theology in Timișoara, being ordained as a priest in his native Lovrin by Bishop Augustin Pacha. He continued his studies at Münster in Westphalia, obtaining a Ph.D. in Theology in 1936. He served briefly as a chaplain at Jimbolia. In 1937 he was appointed Professor of Religion at Timișoara in the "Banatia" Pedagogical Institute for Roman Catholic Teachers and prefect of studies in Emericanum. On 21 August 1940, he was appointed professor at the Theological Academy in Timișoara. During the periods of thaw in the relations between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Holy See, he was awarded the title of Papal Prelate. During

demanded that the state should supplement the salary, which up until then had been only 80%¹. This time, however, the specialised ministry requested the immediate submission of a “regulation” under which the two teachers were employed and based on which they filled their positions. In this regard, the above mentioned answer was submitted by 28 February 1943.

For the seminary, for the professors and the theologians in Timișoara, the 1940s represented a relatively tense period. The spread of Nazi ideology in Banat occurred, unfortunately, rather quickly. The tensions between those faithful to the Church and not involved politically or ideologically, on the one hand, and the advocates of the new ideology imported from the Reich, on the other hand, often turned into moments of serious humiliation and marginalisation of the former. Eventually, on 26 March 1942, Bishop Pacha was forced to sign the contract under which, according to the Romanian laws and the agreements between the Romanian Government and the German Government, a large number of Catholic schools were ceded to the Nazi organisation in our country, the German Ethnic Group (*Deutsche Volksgruppe in Rumänien*). The Theological Seminary did not come under the provisions of this contract, but neighbouring “Banatia” did.²² This place of Catholic spiritual, civic and moral education became a hotbed whence Nazi ideology could spread in Banat. It was precisely from such “neighbourhoods” that the tribulations of the future clergy arose later, given their public labelling and their frequently being offended by the followers of National Socialism as the “dark people of Catholicism.”²³

The years of World War II left traces in the life of the theological seminary in Timișoara. From the triennial relations submitted by the rector of the seminary and the diocesan bishop to the *Sacra Congregatio de Seminariis et Studiorum Universitatibus*, we find out a series of details about the activity of this academic institution. Thus, the report of Josef Korner, the rector of the Theological Academy, issued on 4 July 1945, comprises nine points. At the first point, it recounts the fact that the previous academic year had ended on 21 July 1944, but that because of the war and the transformation of the country and of the diocesan territory into a war theatre, after 23 August 1944 courses could not start as usual, on 15 September, and it was necessary to postpone the opening of the academic year until 26 October. In addition, much of the building was requisitioned by the army for war purposes. The issue of the number of seminarians is addressed in the second paragraph of the letter. Unfortunately, during the war their number had declined. In the autumn of 1944, twelve students attended studies, including 8 from the Diocese of Timișoara, two from the Diocese of Alba Iulia and two from the Order of the Salvatorians and,

the last part of his life, he served as a parish priest at Aradul Nou (Arad County), where he died on 2 February 1998 at the age of 91 years. See *Schematismus 1948*, p. 123; *Schematismus Ordinarius Rom. Cath. Timisoarensis pro Anno Domini 1986*, typed manuscript, compiled as instructed by the diocesan ordinariate, Msgr. Sebastian Kräuter, by Fr. Dr. Csáthy Miklós, a parish priest in Timișoara VI Fratelia, on 15 April 1986, p. 9.

²² Franz Kräuter, *op.cit.*, p. 140.

²³ Nikolaus Engelmann, “Prälat Josef Nischbach - Der Geistige Vater der Banatia,” in Annemarie Podlipny-Hehn (ed.), *Banatia – 70. Jubiläum*, Temeswar: Mirton-Verlag, 1996, pp. 34-35; Franz Kräuter, *op.cit.*, pp. 141-143.

respectively, from the Banatian communities of the order. The rector presented three main reasons underlying the decline in the number of theology students:

a. Since most candidates came from German language schools, their young students had been indoctrinated, during their high school studies, with ideas derived from the Nazi ideology, so there were not many who enrolled in a theological college. Fortunately, however, secondary school graduates with a humanistic training were more protected from such an ideologised education, those enrolled in the first year generally coming from this environment.

b. Starting from May 1943, a part of the German-speaking youth with theological leanings enrolled, at the age of 17, in the German Army rather than in the Romanian Army, so as to complete their military service.

c. While theology students had been exempted from military service in the Kingdom of Romania up until that moment, the rules in this regard were modified despite the interventions of the Nunciature. In this sense, the theologians who had been exempted thus far were also compelled to provide some services, conceived as an “extension of studies,” a modality that was subsequently also no longer used, since the obligation of military service was imposed. For this reason, in the previous year, there were no freshmen and sophomores among the seminarians.

The discontinuation of theological studies for 50 days, starting from 13 December 1944, is treated under the third point. The rector described the fact that other areas of the seminary had been requisitioned (which had probably not been requisitioned before), which meant that now, the most part, the building would serve the army.²⁴ The professors and the students were forced to gather their things in two days and leave the building. Only the basement spaces were left to the seminarians and those were insufficient, as various pieces of furniture, objects and books that should have been evacuated from the rooms on the upper floors had been gathered there. For this reason, the students were sent home, with the recommendation that they should continue their activity together with the parish priests from their places of origin and learn on their own. The benevolence of Divine Providence was expected for the recommencement of studies in a normal manner and in a scholastic setting.

The fourth section describes the atmosphere of anxiety and even of terror triggered by the deportation to the “work of reconstruction”²⁵ (forced labour, in fact)

²⁴ ADT, Fund: Priesterseminar, Packet: Acta Varia: 1917-1950, Certificate 317 of 21 March 1946, issued by the Commission for Requisitioning and Billeting at the Timișoara City Hall, stating that the entire building of the Roman Catholic Seminary in Timișoara, no. 2 General Hochberg St., had been requisitioned by the Soviet Army from 13 December 1944 to the present date (21 March 1946), unnumbered.

²⁵ Paul Philippi, “Cuvânt înainte,” in Hannelore Baier (ed.) *Deportarea etnicilor din România în Uniunea Sovietică - 1945*, Forumul Democrat al Germanilor din România, Sibiu: Tipografia Honterus, 1994, p. 5. The above-mentioned sources suggest the figure of 70,000 citizens of German origin deported for the “reconstruction work” in the USSR (see also Rudolf Gräf, “Germanii din Banat sau istoria între două emigrări. Cercul care s-a închis,” in Smaranda Vultur (ed.), *Germanii din Banat*, București: Paideia, 2000, p. 29.), the figure of 75,000 is also advanced (see also Hannelore Baier (ed.), “Einleitung,” in Hannelore Baier (ed.), *Tief in Russland bei Stalino. Die Deportation in die Sowjetunion 1945*, București: ADZ Verlag, 2000, p. 11, Hannelore Baier (ed.), “Vorwort,” in Hannelore Baier (ed.), *Russland-Deportierte erinnern sich*, București: Verlag der Zeitung “Neuer Weg,” 1992, p. 7.). An older

in the Soviet Union of the men of German ethnicity, with ages between 17-45 years, as well as of women. Most theology students or candidates were enrolled in this age group. For this reason, recourse was made, once again, to the intervention of the Nunciature, so the priests, the nuns and the seminarians were exempted thereof. However, the lack of space – the seminary still being requisitioned – made theological training impossible. In this sense, point five mentioned the opening manifested by Bishop Augustin Pacha for the seminar. He brought together the professors and the students in his episcopal palace, where he provided them with several rooms for living and for classes. Under point six, it is stated that on 26 March, the seminarians had been gathered in the episcopal palace to prepare for the exams of the first semester; during Holy Week (pre-Easter), they were examined in the subjects of the first half year, after which they actively participated in the celebrations of Easter from the Episcopal Cathedral (the Dome in Union Square). The examinations for the second semester were prepared and delivered in the same way – as we are told under the seventh point – the students meeting on 22 June, also at the episcopal residence. Here they were received, examined and encouraged by the bishop directly for the path they had embarked on. Political conditions meant that the time for restarting studies for the next academic year could not be communicated to the students. This was to be conveyed in writing, to each in a sealed envelope, by mail. The problem of spiritual retreats for the seminarians is tackled under the eighth point. Unfortunately, because of threats and fears, these retreats were omitted during the current year. However, for the three existing candidates to the priesthood, there were provided three days of spiritual, preparatory recollection. Under the ninth (last) point, there are described the hopes for the future: in July 1945 there were only five diocesan students enrolled in Theology. It was hoped that the published episcopal circulars would create an atmosphere of confidence and normality, so much so that candidates would enrol in theological studies without fear. It was also hoped that the aspects listed under points 2 b) and c) would be eliminated, so that the number of German seminarians would grow, those speaking other languages being very few, as young people belonging to these other nationalities were less likely to attend secondary schools. Also, it was hoped that the building of the seminary would be restored so that courses could be conducted in an appropriate setting.²⁶

The above-described report issued by Rector Korner was sent to the relevant Roman congregation, along with a letter signed by Bishop Pacha, on 6 July 1945. In his text, the bishop explained the extraordinary, difficult conditions, marked by

source, from Western Germany, claimed in the late 1950s that the figure had approximately amounted to 80,000 deportees; a situation by regions: Transylvania 27,000 (of which 16,000 women and girls), Lowland Banat 35,000 (of which 20,000 women and girls) and Mountain Banat and the Old Kingdom 18,000, most of them women and girls (although the amount that is advanced here is 70,000 as well) (see Hans Hartl, *Das Schicksal des Deutschtums in Rumänien (1938-1945-1953)*, from the collection *Beihefte zum Jahrbuch der Albertus-Universität, Königsberg/Pr. XIV*, Holzner-Verlag Würzburg, 1958, p. 121).

²⁶ ADT, Fund: Priesterseminar, Packet: Acta Varia: 1917-1950, Report no. 41/ 1945 by Rector Dr. Josef Korner, concerning the activity and situation of the seminar, a document dated 4 July 1945, unnumbered.

danger and fear, that had marked the Theological Academy in the 1944/1945 academic year. Drafted in four points, the letter contains the main elements also mentioned by Rector Korner, with some significant details. Under the first point, the bishop complained about the requisition, at some point, of the entire edifice of the seminary, which had seriously disturbed the educational process. The bishop added, however, that even the spaces of the convent “St. Emeric,” also housed in the seminary, had be evacuated, so even this “nursery” for young candidates to the life of a theology student had been compromised. At the second point, the bishop clearly stated that his greatest pain was the sharp decrease in the number of theologians, 8 having been enrolled in the previous academic year, especially since there existed the possibility of more than 40 youth being schooled. In the third paragraph, the bishop lamented, in his turn, the standard of education provided in schools until then, a fact that he also drew attention on in his last circular no. V/1300 of 1945.²⁷ Pacha gave a simple statistic under the fourth point of his writing: he believed that the diocese was in a deplorable situation, given that in 1943 it comprised 420,316 parishioners, spiritually served by only 231 priests. Pacha said that the state of the diocese had been much degraded, in recent years, by the realities of the world war. After 1943, the bishop said, six priests refused to be obedient canonically, leaving the country and entering German military service. They came out of the priesthood and contracted civil marriages. Other 2 or 3 priests were interned for (more or less credible) political reasons. In September-October, during the fights between the fronts in Banat, an entire series of faithful left the diocese, along with 17 priests, all of them fearing for their lives. Only three of the 17 returned to the diocese. Another priest was killed by soldiers. 11 other priests were deported to forced labour in the USSR. The old lack of priests that had also manifested in the past had deepened over the past year through the absence of more than 30 priests, who, for various reasons, could not exercise their functions. In addition, there were enough sick and aged clerics who wished to retire with a pension. Although the number of seminarians was small, the bishop stated, in the last lines of the letter, that the atrocities of war had worsened the spiritual and social situation of the believers in an altogether sad manner.²⁸

The two letters, of Rector Korner and of Bishop Pacha, were submitted, through the Nunciature, to the Roman congregation responsible for seminaries and universities. Cardinal Giuseppe Pizzardo’s reply, dated as late as 24 January 1946, was eventually sent to the Nunciature in Bucharest, which stated this thing and remanded it, together with its own letter of encouragement, to Bishop Pacha on 22 April 1946. The text of the congregation contained an acknowledgement of the difficult situation described by Bishop Pacha. Rome could not do much at the time, but the cardinal ascertained not only the depth of the problems, the effects of the ideologies that were inimical to God, but also the significant involvement of Bishop

²⁷ *ADT*, Fund: Circulares Dioecesanes, Circular of Bishop Augustin Pacha no. V/ 7 June 1945, Timișoara: Tipografia “Victoria,” pp. 61-63.

²⁸ *ADT*, Fund: Priesterseminar, Packet: Acta Varia: 1917-1950, Bishop Augustin Pacha’s Letter 1558 of 6 July 1945, accompanying Report 41/ 1945 by Rector Dr. Josef Korner, issued on 4 July 1945, concerning the activity and situation of the seminary, unnumbered.

Pacha for improving the situation of the vocation for a priestly life, of the seminary and of his diocese. The cardinal stressed the importance of training the youth and the hope for a normal, peaceful future, which would restore the young people's courage to pursue such a vocation.²⁹

This correspondence on the activity and status of the seminary having just been carried out, the Nunciature sent Bishop Pacha a new request from the congregation for seminaries, calling for a detailed report on the issue of the new theological academy in Timișoara. Bishop Pacha and Rector Korner compiled a new report, only Pacha's accompanying letter thereof having been preserved. This letter does not contain significant additional information compared to the previous documents, but only more incomplete details. However, it states that in the latest circular issued at Easter, the bishop had addressed the clergy and the faithful, urging them to encourage and support sacerdotal vocations.³⁰

Another relevant document from this period is communication no. 50/ of 29 July 1946, issued by the seminary's rectorate, reinforced and recommended by Bishop Pacha to the clergy and their faithful, under circular no. 2058 of the same day, in which appeal was made for voluntary donations to repair the building of the academy. The letter stated that for two years the building had been requisitioned for military purposes, being now finally released. It was, however, in a poor condition and required renovations to be restored to its own purpose of existence. For the next academic year, 1946/1947, the Rector's Office envisaged the renovation of at least the south wing, so that the Academy and "St. Emeric" boarding school could be reopened. The costs of the works had been evaluated at 25-30 million lei, but the seminary could hardly invest that amount of money. The last collection for the seminary, at the Pentecost, had managed only to cover the debts of the institute up to that time. By 12 August 1946, the priests of the diocese were requested to inform the Episcopal Ordinariate the amount that they would be able to collect to support the renovations.³¹ In this context, the donation made by the priest in Bocșa Montană, by his parish and by a parishioner is exemplary: 100,000 lei in the donation box from the icon of St. Jude Thaddeus, 100,000 lei to the box of St. Anton, 100,000 lei from the parish priest's personal income (state-funded salary) and 60,000 lei from a parishioner in Bocșa Română who had been deported to the USSR and had returned home safely.³²

²⁹ ADT, Fund: Priesterseminar, Packet: Acta Varia: 1917-1950, Cardinal Giuseppe Pizzardo's Letter 115/44/11 of 24 January 1946 concerning the report on the activity and the situation of the seminary in Timișoara, unnumbered, and Letter 12705 of 22 April 1946 addressed by the Apostolic Nuncio Andrea Cassulo to Bishop Pacha, concerning the delivery of Cardinal Pizzardo's letter of 24 January 1945, unnumbered.

³⁰ ADT, Fund: Priesterseminar, Packet: Acta Varia: 1917-1950, Bishop Pacha's Letter no. 1869 concerning the activity and situation of the seminary, a document dated 28 June 1946, unnumbered.

³¹ ADT, Fund: Priesterseminar, Packet: Acta Varia: 1917-1950, Communication no. 50 of 29 July 1946, addressed by Rector Dr. Josef Korner to the diocesan clergy and people, unnumbered.

³² ADT, Fund: Priesterseminar, Packet: Acta Varia: 1917-1950, Letter no. 241/ 1946 addressed by the priest Stefan Schrotz from Bocșa Montană to the Diocese of Timișoara, referring to the donations for the seminary, unnumbered.

The dismantlement of the Theological Academy and the confiscation of its building

Since 1946, the Romanian state had tried to impose its ownership over the building of the Roman Catholic Theological Academy in Timișoara, by confiscating half of the spacious premises of the priestly seminary for the newly established Faculty of Medicine. Already in October 1947, the Faculty of Medicine had raised claims over the entire edifice, attempting to turn it into the headquarters for its higher education purposes. The Episcopal Ordinariate submitted protests and took all possible legal steps to prevent this. Even the Apostolic Nunciature in Bucharest intervened in favour of the diocese, all attempts in this regard being doomed to failure. According to the police order, the building of the local priestly seminary had to be completely evacuated and was to be ceded to the Faculty of Medicine, with the entire existing inventory at the time. Under these circumstances, the rector of the seminary and, at the same time, Vicar General of the Diocese of Timișoara, Canon Dr. Josef Korner, who had dedicated his entire life to the diocesan seminary and was living on the premises thereof, together with the theological students and the other teachers, suffered a heart attack. The authorities exploited the moment and ordered the evacuation of the building that same day. The diocesan Bishop Augustin Pacha, decided that the rector and the seminarians should be moved into the episcopal palace. The bishop's measure was not implemented because of the demise, the next morning, on 18 November 1947, of Rector Dr. Josef Korner. The seminarians, who were few in number because of the political context in the country, were received by the Salvatorian monks in their residence from the Elizabethan district, where the Salvatorian Provincialate was also located. Prior to the confiscation of this construction, the seminarians lived here. Afterwards, they moved to the episcopal palace, which, in turn, was confiscated in 1950. Henceforth, the seminarians were scattered to their homes, and they could resume their studies only in 1953, at the seminary in Alba Iulia.³³

It may be said, however, that the fate of the Theological Academy in Timișoara had been decided by the communist regime with the promulgation of Decree no. 177 Regulating the General Regime of Religious Denominations, published in the Official Gazette, issue no. 178 of 4 August 1948, which provided, in Chapter VI, "On religious education," Art. 49, the second paragraph, for the organization of the theological education of the "Catholic denomination" in our country. That paragraph stipulated: "The Catholic denomination shall have a single theological institute at university level, with the special required sections."³⁴ In vain were there negotiations

³³ Franz Kräuter *op. cit.*, pp. 154-155, 158-159.

³⁴ ADT, Fund: Circulares Dioecesanes, Circular issued by Bishop Augustin Pacha no. VII/ 1948, typed manuscript, p. 6 (192). The latest official circular printed by the "Victoria" typography was the one with no. V/1948. Already from Circular no. VI/1948, these public documents addressed by the bishop to his diocese could no longer be officially printed, but were typed and copied so as to be sent to the parishes. See also *Decret pentru regimul general al cultelor religioase*, București: no publisher, 1948, pp. 8-16.

carried out, in vain were regulations drafted and curricula compiled,³⁵ and in vain was correspondence exchanged for regulating the functioning of the diocesan theological seminaries in Bucharest, Timișoara, Alba Iulia, etc.: the communist power had already decided to keep just one institute of this kind. This was not the institute from Timișoara, Iași or Bucharest, but the one in Alba Iulia. Still, the Bishop of Alba Iulia, Aron Márton, was one of the most active Catholic prelates as regards the approval, by the state, of a Statute of the Catholic Denomination in Romania, in line with “the profession of faith of the universal Catholic Church, which is identical and immutable throughout the world.”³⁶ This statute was to recognise the ties between the Catholic Church in Romania and the Holy Father, the Pope, and Rome, a statute that could guarantee the functioning of the Church under both its major rites, Latin and Byzantine, as well as the number of dioceses existing hitherto, pertaining to each rite.

During the negotiations, it became clear that the state only condoned the existence of one major theological seminary (of university standing) and one minor seminary (a school for cantors). Bishop Márton Áron also brought into question, however, the creation of schools for the training of priests, monks and nuns from different religious orders.³⁷

Notwithstanding all this, Bishop Augustin Pacha maintained the Catholic diocesan seminary in Timișoara in operation. This is attested by circular no. V/ 15 May 1948, in which the bishop appealed to the clergy to encourage and support the seminary, which, the bishop said, “is in a sad financial situation. We do not just sit here, before you, without a building of our own, but also without almost any kind of material help.”³⁸ The building had already been confiscated from him under decision 214, of 25 August 1948, and assigned to the Faculty of Medicine as a dormitory.³⁹ In the meantime, the diocese, which had been downgraded by the communist power to the level of an archpresbyteriate or a vicariate, appealed in 1950 against this confiscation and the transcription of the estate, in the land register, as the property of the Romanian State or, more precisely, of its so-called academic institutions. Still, this action was doomed to failure, as the Timiș-Torontal Court rejected, under the civil

³⁵ ADT, Fund: Priesterseminar, Packet: Acta Varia: 1917-1950, Standing regulations of the Roman Catholic Theological Seminary in Timișoara, annexed to the letter of 64/7 September 1948, addressed by Rector Dr. Adalbert Boros to Bishop Pacha, unnumbered. Boros proposed even that the official name of “Theological Seminary” should be given to the institute in Timișoara, responding thus to the request of the Archbishop- Metropolitan Alexandru Th. Cisar, of 2 September 1948 (no. 953/1948).

³⁶ ADT, Fund: Priesterseminar, Packet: Acta Varia: 1917-1950, the letter 2173/2 noiembrie 1948 addressed by Bishop Márton Áron to the Minister of Religious Denominations, Stanciu Stoian, concerning the status of the denomination and of the theological institutes, unnumbered.

³⁷ ADT, Fund: Priesterseminar, Packet: Acta Varia: 1917-1950, Letter 2706/30 November 1948 addressed by Bishop Márton Áron to the Minister of Denominations, concerning the issue of the “[operating] licences of religious Orders” and of the statutes of theological institutes, unnumbered.

³⁸ ADT, Fund: Circulares Dioecesanes, Circular issued by Bishop Augustin Pacha no. V/ 1948, typed manuscript, p. 1 (181).

³⁹ Claudiu Călin, “Dieceza de Timișoara între 1948-1989,” in *Biserica Romano-Catolică din România în timpul prigoanei comuniste (1948-1989)*, ed. Dănuț Doboș, vol. edited by the National Commission for the Study of the History of the Catholic Church in Romania, Iași: Editura Sapientia, 2008, pp. 100-102.

sentence no. 23 of 10 January 1951, the applicant's appeal.⁴⁰ The building of the seminary was to remain in state ownership until late, in the post-revolutionary era, being eventually returned to the diocese. The theologians and the professors, meeting in 1948 at the Salvatorians' monastery and, later, in the episcopal palace, continued their courses and religious education until the year 1950. A proof of this is the letter of 28 January 1950, which Rector Adalbert Boros⁴¹ and the manciple of the seminary, Ferdinand Cziza, addressed to the "episcopal authority" (sic!) in Timișoara, requesting its approval of the plan on expenditures for the ongoing academic year, 1949/1950. At that time, the "family" of the seminarian consisted of seven seminarians, three professors and two sisters, and up to 10 seminarians studying there could be maintained without problems. It was proposed that the salaries of Professors Boros, Schwarz, Cziza and Aubermann should be raised to 4,000 lei. It was envisaged that when Professor Aubermann retired, the already active official Professor Anton Schuler could be officially employed in his stead, at the parish of Sânandra (Timiș County). On 7 February 1950, Bishop Pacha approved the expenditure plan submitted, requesting that the authors should also remit it to the Episcopal Ordinariate in Alba Iulia for similar approval, as this ordinariate was also officially responsible, before the state, for the "Vicariate of Timișoara."⁴²

Although it had a long historical and university tradition, the Roman Catholic Theological Academy in Timișoara did not survive the atheist-communist era. A genuine centre for the training of the Banatian Catholic clergy, this institute had been a hindrance to the goals pursued by the policies of the regime of "popular democracy." Forming leaders of opinion, spiritual educators and true moral mentors, the theological seminaries were opposed, by their very nature and purpose, to bereaving the country and its inhabitants from their dignity and freedom. Unfortunately, like many other institutes and establishments suppressed in 1948-1989, the Theological Academy from Timișoara remains only a memory now, but also a moral, pedagogical and historical hallmark for the Roman Catholic Diocese of Timișoara.

⁴⁰ *ADT*, Fund: Priesterseminar, Packet: Acta Varia: 1917-1950, Civil Sentence of the Timiș-Torontal Court no. 23 of 10 January 1951, unnumbered.

⁴¹ *ADT*, Fund: Priesterseminar, Packet: Acta Varia: 1917-1950, Appointment document no. 3673 of 22 November 1947 for Fr. Prof. Dr. Adalbert Boros, by which he became rector of the seminary in Timișoara, taking the place of the late Pr. Dr. Josef Korner, unnumbered.

⁴² *ADT*, Fund: Priesterseminar, Packet: Acta Varia: 1917-1950, the Request of 28 January 1950 for the approval of the expenditure plan of the diocesan seminary, submitted by Rector Dr. Adalbert Boros and the manciple of the seminaru, Dr. Ferdinand Cziza, unnumbered.

A HALLMARK OF ROMANIAN ART THE ORTHODOX CATHEDRAL IN TURDA

Abstract: This article aims to analyse several landmarks pertaining to the construction of the cathedral in Turda, built between 1930-1937. This project was part of an overall plan developed by the Ministry of Religious Denominations and the Arts led by the historian Alexandru Lapedatu, aiming to build churches for the Romanian communities in Transylvania, in the aftermath of the Great Union of 1918. The creation of the architect Ioan Traianescu, the cathedral was consecrated on 3 November 1937, in the presence of Bishops Lucian Triteanu and Nicolae Ivan, Minister Alexandru Lapedatu, the elites, the notables and the public of Turda. It was painted by Paul Molda, a very prestigious artist who was on friendly terms with the architect Traianescu. Their collaboration led to the erection of a splendid modern building, evincing the spirit of the Byzantine tradition.

Keywords: Transylvania, interwar period, religious painting, Turda, Paul Molda

The fourth decade of the twentieth century was marked by constructive effervescence, full of achievements in the sphere of architecture and the arts. Ecclesiastical architecture, in particular, was encouraged by stately buildings that the communities supported and that the central authorities encouraged systematically. In the 1930s, Romania's cities received, in most of the historical provinces, representative cathedrals. Transylvania and Banat enjoyed such projects, churches designed by the foremost architects and adorned by outstanding artists being erected from Timișoara to Hunedoara, and from Orăștie to Turda. Conducted through the Ministry of Religious Denominations and the Arts, this was a program deliberately targeted at historical recovery, on behalf of the Romanian urban communities, deprived, up until the Union of 1918, of the right to raise cathedrals in cities. The state invested systematically in this deliberate program, initiated at the time of the first ministry of the historian Alexandru Lapedatu,² and the reign of King Carol II (1930-1940) was coeval with the period of a genuine cultural patronage.

Among the most important cathedrals erected in this decade was the one from Turda.³ Begun in 1930, the construction was completed in 1937, when, on 3 November, the consecration ceremony took place in the presence of Bishops Lucian Triteanu and Nicolae Ivan, Minister Alexandru Lapedatu, Royal Aide Teofil Sidorovici, George Cipăianu and Valer Moldovan, Prefect Eugen Dunca, and Mayor Gențiu. On that occasion, the town's elite – Archpriest Cârnațiu, Professors Mihail Gazdac and Iuliu Corvin, the priests Biji, Pătăcean and Marinca – and high-ranking guests attended the choral performance offered by the Theological Choir of Cluj and

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² See Ioan Oprîș, *Alexandru Lapedatu în cultura românească*, București: Editura Științifică, 1992.

³ The project belongs to the architect Ion Traianescu and the mural painting to Paul Molda.

of the cathedral from Turda, the former being led by V. Peraşcu and that the hosts being conducted by Professor Iaşinski.

The priest Jovian Mureşanu was elevated to the rank of Archpriest Stavrofor and decorated with the Patriarchal Cross, being pronounced, at the same time, honorary citizen of the town. Bishop Triteanu synthesized, in his speech, the profound significance of the cathedral's foundation: "Our dream has come true. In Transylvania's squares, there rise, all around, towering Romanian churches and cathedrals."⁴

A pilgrimage to the tomb of Michael the Brave – announced by the newspaper *Universul* as part of the antirevisionist actions – again occasioned speeches with nationalist overtones, as well as the dissemination of the idea of a memorial dedicated to the hero slain on Câmpia Turzii. While the architectural project belonged to a well-known architect,⁵ the painting project was accomplished by an artist of great prestige. Paul Molda⁶ impressed his contemporaries, retaining their attention both as an easel painter and as a restorer of church paintings. In a personal exhibition at the Romanian Athenaeum – in Exarcu Hall (10 February-6 March 1919), the artist presented 116 works, impressing Nicolae Iorga. The learned historian showed that the exhibited works – including many representations of the mosaics of Ravenna and the painting of the Palatine Chapel in Palermo – demonstrated "not only strenuous work, solid technical knowledge and high elasticity of talent, but also – something that is encountered in few of our young painters – a broad orientation in art and a vast experience of nature, in which true art finds its inspiration."⁷

The odds of fate would have Paul Molda paint at Turda too. On 8 September 1935, he signed a cooperation agreement with the local artist Carol Gross, in the amount of 50,000 lei, the Turda-based artist receiving 40% of its value (15,000 lei being paid to him on 20 September). On 5 February 1936, the Archpriest of Turda, Jovian Mureşanu, addressed him the request to make the partial reception of the works in summer, which actually occurred on 24 June, when, in the presence of the beneficiary, the architect Trajanescu and the painter, they were delivered, as attested by the minutes drafted at the scene of the place.⁸

⁴ *Universul*, year 52, no. 306, Wednesday, 6 November 1937. Even by 21 June 1931, the issue of funding the painting works in the cathedral of Turda had not been resolved, Molda being invited by Jovian Mureşanu only for "an exchange of views," cf. letter in the Central Historical National Archives Service (SANIC), the fund of the Ministry of Culture and the Arts (MCA), file no. 162, f. 9-10. A telegram of 21 May 1935 confirms his own intention and that of the architect Trajanescu, as beneficiary, in Turda.

⁵ Ion Trajanescu is known for the restoration works he conducted at Arnota, Hurezi, Plumbuita and at the metropolitan church in Bucureşti.

⁶ Paul Molda (28 December 1884, Negrileşti- 29 June 1955, Bucharest), the son of a priest - a teacher at Cernatu-Săcele, a political refugee because of his pro-Memorandum views in the Old Kingdom, who settled in Ploieşti; he completed his elementary and high school studies in Ploieşti, carried out his higher education studies at the Academy of Fine Arts (1900-1905), under the supervision of G. D. Mirea, working on religious painting since the third year of study. He was sent on a scholarship by the Historical Monuments Commission, for a specialisation in Italy (1914-1915).

⁷ See *Neamul Românesc*, Friday 1 March 1919. On the exhibition, see SANIC, MCA fund, file 55, f. 1-4.

⁸ The contract and the minutes in SANIC, MCA fund, file no. 117, f. 1-3.

Molda's ties with the architect Trajanescu were older. On an invitation launched by the General Association of the Romanian Press on 25 October 1922, for a ball with a raffle to be held on 27 January 1923, the architect made him the following dedication: "to the suave painter Molda, who sees nature through a prism of colours full of poetry and idealism. His good and devoted friend Trajanescu."⁹

On 24 May 1936, a new contract stipulated that the artist should paint the icons of the iconostasis, the altar vault and the arches of the nave and the narthex "in neo-Byzantine style," in oil. The icons were to be painted on plywood, against a background of genuine gold. The vault was to be painted in tempera, and the arches and pillars in oil. Molda pledged to use only "first quality materials" and vouchsafed that the "artistic quality of these paintings, in terms of composition, drawing and colour," would rise to "the height of the traditional paintings from the Romanian historical churches."¹⁰ The cost of the works: 85,000 lei for the iconostasis and the altar vault and, respectively, 45,000 lei for the painting of the arches.

When, on 1 September 1937, D. Stănescu-Deteste signed in *Progresul* the article "A round through the artists' workshops," praising the work of Paul Molda on the whole as a "healthy and sustainable art," he emphasised that "no painter has surpassed Mr. Paul Molda in the strength of his expressiveness and in boldness."¹¹

Returning to the work in Turda, the same commentator stated that "every fragment stands as testimony to a fortunate invention, every episode is attractive, every type well-characterised." He noted how "the tonal coloration contributes to forming a vivid and comforting harmony, full of brilliance and freshness."¹² As of now, the entire painting could be seen by the parishioners, by the people of Turda, above all, who could admire its "firm, frank and outstanding execution (which) is very well modulated in tones of blue and in the necessary light," conveying "a profoundly serious and religious sense."¹³

The pictorial masterpiece from Turda pursued the artist and the newspapers and magazines of his time reproduced it as a work of reference. The author himself gave it imperishable outlines in his later drawings and paintings.¹⁴

The thresholds of a city cathedral are crossed by many people every day. How many will have crossed the threshold of the cathedral in Turda? How many hopes will they have put in the Lord's word, which they listened to here? The special atmosphere, the religious scenes and the saints on the walls, the doors of the altar, the icons and the furniture, they have all brought and still bring consolation to our fellow humans. They mattered and still matter to them and their thoughts. But all this is due

⁹ In *loc. cit.*, fund. 170, f. 1.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ *Progresul*, year III, no. 31, 1 September 1937.

¹² "Pictorul Paul Molda," in *Viitorul*, year XXIX, no. 8896, Saturday, 4 September 1937.

¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ Thus, in *L'Écho of Bucarest* (1935), D. Stănescu, in "Une visite aux ateliers des peintres Paul Molda et D. Bărbulescu," mentions the cathedral in Turda, as he also does in *Universul*, no. 8, 10 January 1941, where the cathedral of Turda occupies a prominent place, represented by a drawing signed by Paul Molda; thus, at a time of great hardship for the Romanians, it reveals its value as a national symbol.

to the devotion of a small number of people from Turda, who, in the 1930s, worked so that the town would receive a house of the Lord that would reflect its historical role. Some designed its layout, others gathered funds, while yet others walked the roads to convince people of the need for a model institution. They all wanted a famous architect and a renowned painter, to whom they could entrust this work. The former designed a modern building, but the spirit of the Byzantine tradition, while the latter decorated it in impressive artistic form.¹⁵

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¹⁵ Recently, the priest Dorin Sas has compiled the meritorious monograph *Catedrala ortodoxă de la Turda (The Orthodox Cathedral in Turda)* (84 pages in manuscript), for which we give him our praise and gratitude.

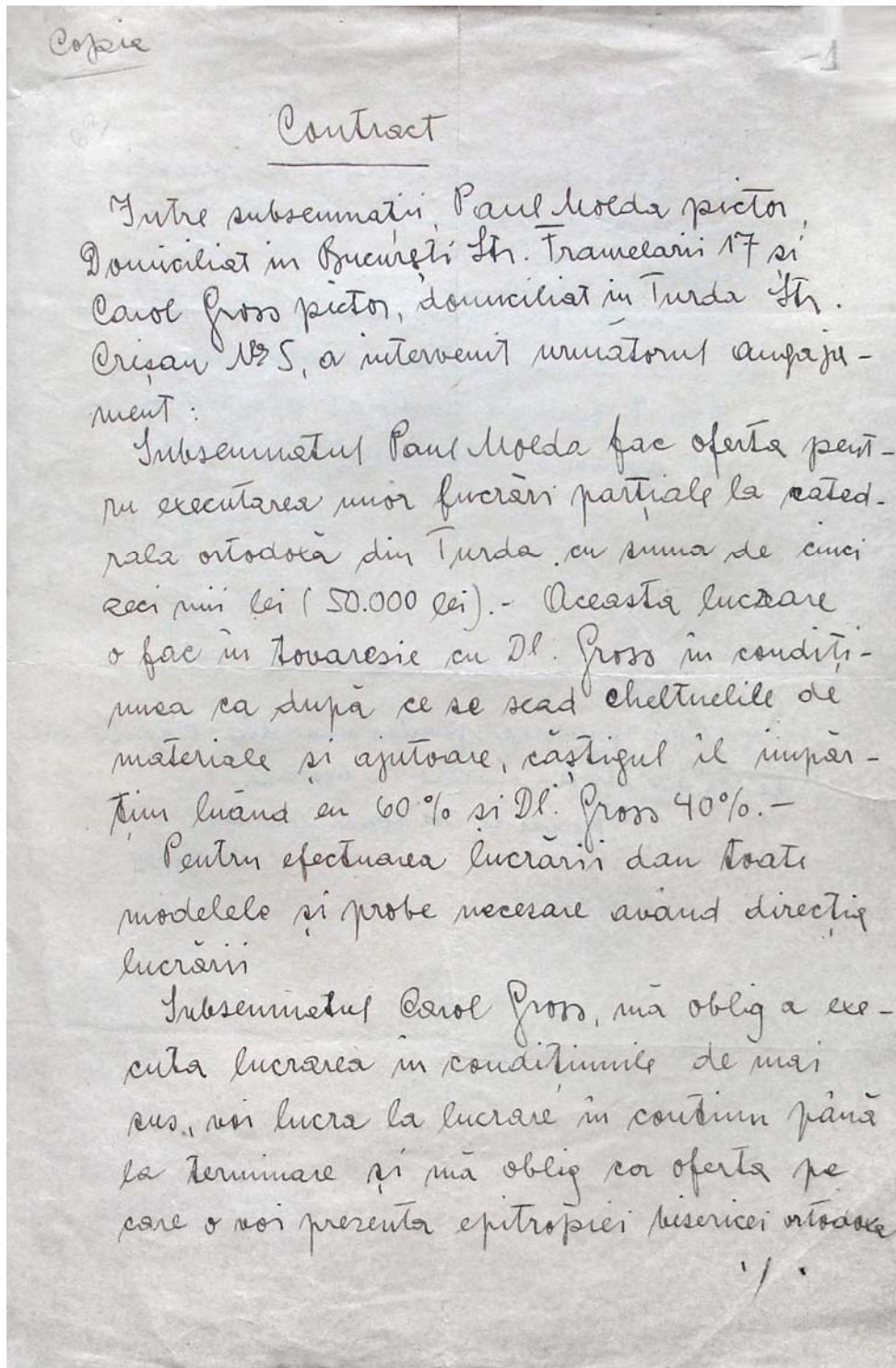


Fig.1

din Turda că nu fie mai jos de suma de
45.000 lei. -

În privința cheltuielilor ce necesită
lucrarea nouă biseră împreună prin bună
înțelegere.

În ziua primirii ratelor de plată se
va face și împărțirea câștigului.

Drept care s'a încheiat acest angaja-
ment astăzi 8 Septembrie 1935. Turda.

Carol Goss

Recunosc primirea partii mea din Accont de
lei 15.000 după lucrare la biserică.

Turda la 20. septembrie 1935.

C. Goss.

Fig.2

-3-

OFICIUL PAROHIAL ORTODOX ROMÂN TURDA .

NR 12-1936 .-

D- Sale Domnului

P A U L M O L D A , pictor - profesor :
BUCUREȘTI .

Am primit stimata Dvs. scrisoare cu data de 21 Ianuarie 1936 și Vă răspund eu fiind Dul Protopop plecat în concediu de boală, că noi am intenționăm că în vară să facem restul picturii, despre ce Vă vom aviza după întoarcerea Dlui Protopop din concediu.-

Acum însă pentru lichidarea chestiunii bănești în contul lucrărilor ce ați executat deja, că să facem formele recerute, adică recepționarea lucrărilor Vă rugăm dacă aveți Dvs. pe cineva cunoscut care să vină să ne facă acest serviciu, în așa fel ca să ne coste cât mai puțin, Vă rugăm să vorbiți cu dânsul și să ne comunicați pe urmă și nouă cine este Domnul și ce pretenziuni are pentru deplasare și facerea recepționării. În cazul, că ne va costa prea mult atunci vom chema pe unul dela Cluj. Iar noi îndată ce vom avea făcută recepționarea lucrării Vă vom achita și restul de bani ce mai aveți la noi.-

Am fi mai bucuroși dacă ați afla Dvs. pe cineva, care să facă recepționarea, ca nu cumva să se întâmple să avem ceva dificultăți în așteptarea răspunsului Dvs., semnăz

T U R D A , 3 Februarie 1936.-

cu stîmă :
H. Muresanu

Fig.3

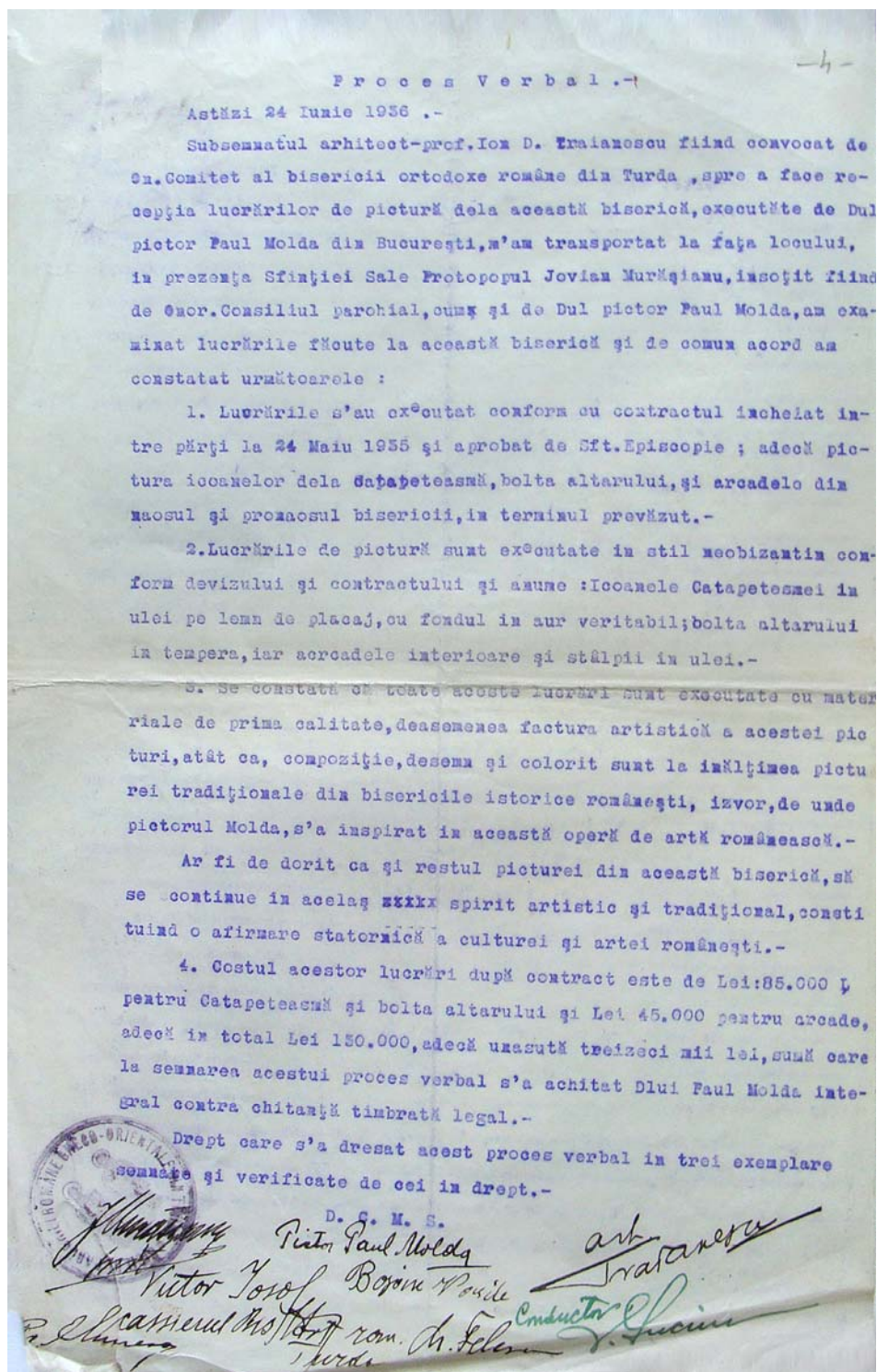


Fig.4



Fig.5

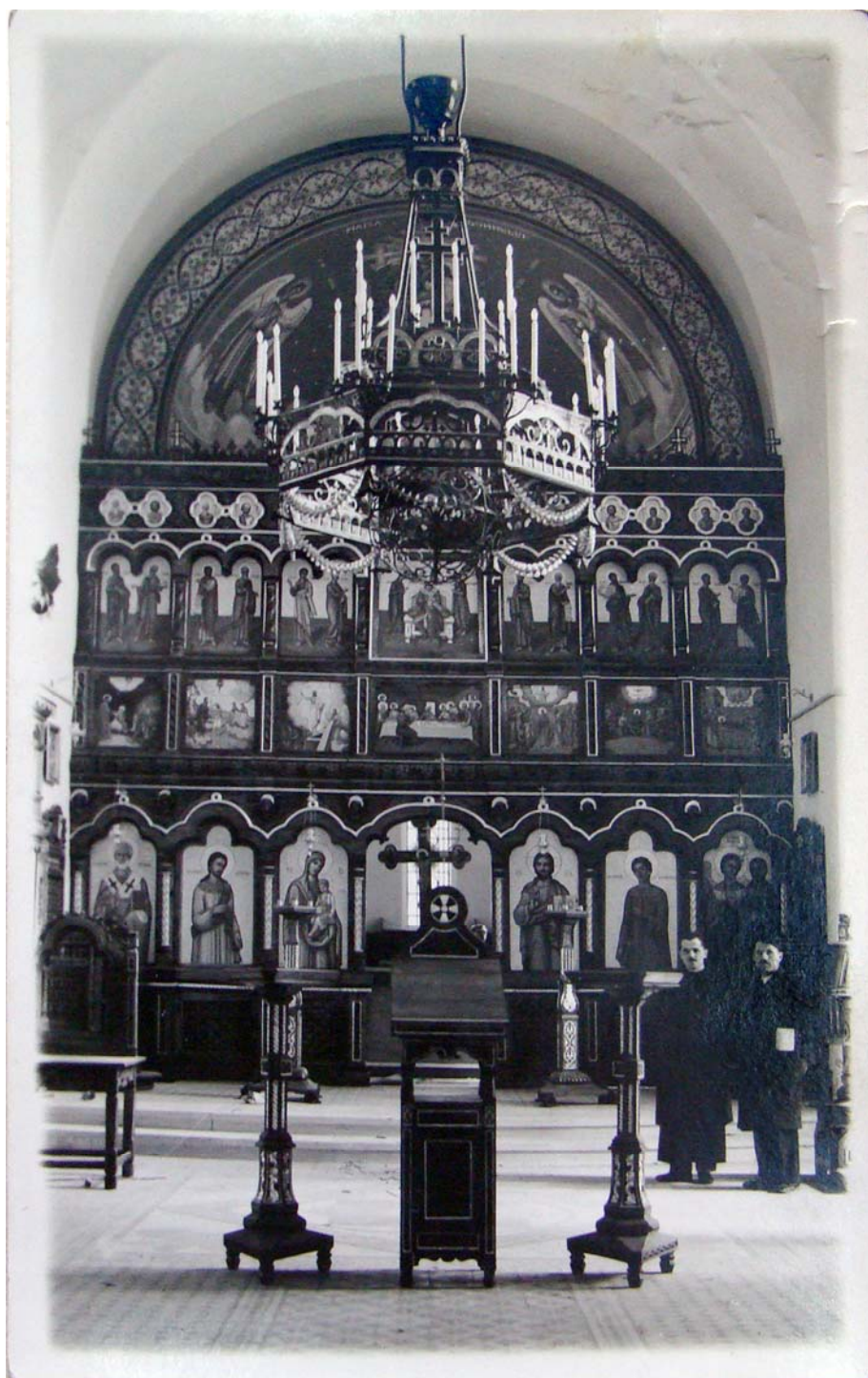


Fig.6



Fig.7



Fig.8



Fig. 9.1

**Fig.9.2**

Terre de Sienne naturelle: ore plus brune que l'ore jaune.

Terre de sienne brûlée, plus foncée et d'un ton plus rougeâtre que la Terre de S. nat. et obtenue par la calcination de celle-ci.

Terre d'ombre naturelle, argile colorée par de l'oxyde fer et de l'oxyde de manganèse, très solide

Terre d'ombre brûlée plus foncée et plus rougeâtre que la terre d'ombre nat. est obtenue par la calcination de celle-ci.

Terre de Cassel. Est un lignite.

Brune Van Dyck. - Le brun est obtenu par une forte calcination de certaines ores jaunes. Est très solide.

Bitume, L'asphalte ou bitume est un produit naturel.

Le brun est d'un ton superbe, cependant il est prudent d'en éviter l'emploi. Le bitume tend à se décolorer à la lumière. Il ne sèche pas, et empêche de sécher les couleurs avec lesquelles il est mélangé. Le manque de solidité et ramollissement du bitume lorsque la température s'élève (il coule à 80-85°) déterminent des craquelures. on peut le rendre solide en lui ajoutant de la gomme, de la cire et de l'huile de lin cuite.

Noir d'ivoire, Charbon obtenu par la calcination, en vases clos, de os. Les os provenant de la fabrication des objets en ivoire. Il est de qualité inférieure, ce n'est du véritable noir d'ivoire, c'est alors du noir d'os. Sans la catégorie des noirs obtenus par le procédé signalé, il faut citer les charbons provenant de la calcination des matières végétales telles que le liège (noir de liège) les sarments de vigne (noir de vigne) (noir de betterave) noir de pêche etc.

Fig.10

Noirs de fumées - Les noirs sont formés par le carbone contenu dans la fumée qu'on dégage pendant la combustion incomplète de certaines matières résineuses ou grasses. Chacun de ces noirs est désigné par le nom de la substance qui le produit; de là les noms de noir de houille, noir de résine, noir de lampe, noir de bougie. Ces deux derniers sont seuls employés en peinture. Le noir de fumée entre dans la fabrication de l'encre de Chine.

Tintura a proteza pânza contra influența atmosferică se sta cu vernis (care s'auzintă pânza bine) Vernis à l'huile ou vernis grosse, à l'eau, à l'alcool. Plus le vernis est sec, plus il est solide, plus vite il s'effrite, se gâte et s'écaille (cela a été observé).

Fig.11

modifie aussi et les rendant plus ternes, les teintes vertes ou violettes obtenues par le mélange du jaune ou du rouge avec le bleu de cobalt.

Bleu d'outremer. Composé de silice, d'alumine, de soufre et de soufre. Est d'une grande solidité.

Bleu de Prusse. Ferrocyanure de fer. Se décolore sous l'action prolongée de la lumière, manque de solidité; il a un très grand pouvoir colorant, et en mélange donne des tons d'une grande richesse.

Vert malachite. Carbonate de cuivre. — Est formée par la pierre dit malachite d'une belle teinte verte, réduite en poudre. Est très solide.

Vert Véronèse. — Bisulfate de cuivre. D'une teinte un peu crue, mêlé à d'autres couleurs tend à s'altérer, est préférable de ne l'utiliser que pur ou presque pur.

Vert de cobalt. — Combinaison d'oxyde de cobalt et d'oxyde de zinc. dit et vert de zinc, est très solide.

Vert émeraude. — Oxyde de chrome, est très solide.

Bruns, il s'obtiennent avec par le mélange du rouge ou vert avec noir. En nature sont antiques en coloration avec ça;

Ocre jaune, fragile colorée par l'oxyde de fer. très solide

Ocre rouge. — Se trouve dans le même condition que l'ocre jaune. La sanguine est une ocre rouge saumelle. on peut obtenir par la calcination de l'ocre jaune.

Ocre de terre. Plus foncé que l'ocre jaune, a pour base du peroxyde de fer mêlé d'argile.

Fig.12

Rouge de Saturne. Mine orange. Plombate de plomb. Cette couleur n'est pas très solide, elle tend à noircir sous l'influence de la lumière et des émanations sulfureuses.

Vermillon. - Sulfure de mercure. - A cause du composé qui la constitue, on doit éviter de mêler cette couleur à celles qui ont du plomb pour base; on se sert plutôt en blanc de plomb c'est-à-dire de zinc. Le vermillon de Chine est plus beau et solide.

Carmine de cochenille. Le carmin est extrait d'un insecte, la cochenille (*coccus cacti*). Cette couleur ne résiste pas beaucoup à l'action de la lumière de sorte qu'il est préférable de ne pas l'employer en peinture.

Laque carminée. - Cette couleur laque est obtenue par la fixation des sels de fabrication du carmin sur de l'alumine. Cependant ce sont des matières carminées nées que l'on emploie de préférence pour la fabrication des laques carminées de qualité supérieure.

Laques de garance. - Le principe colorant de ces laques est extrait des racines des plantes du genre *Barbier*, la culture de ces plantes est en décroissance, on fabrique maintenant ces laques avec l'alizarine artificielle et la purpurine. La laque de garance est une couleur très solide; elle se vend sous différents tons - tons roses - bruns.

Carmine de garance. Ce carmine remplace avec avantage, parce qu'il est plus solide le carmine de cochenille.

Bleu de cobalt. Aluminate de cobalt. - Cette couleur est très solide. Présente l'inconvénient de prendre une coloration violette à la lumière du gaz ou d'une bougie; cette coloration

Fig.13

Journe de zine. - Chromate de zine. - Est plus stable que le journe de chrome.

Journe de strontiane. - Chromate de strontiane. Est comme le précédent, plus solide et plus fixe que le journe de chrome.

Journe de cadmium. - Sulfure de cadmium. ~~Les couleurs~~
Les mélanges de journe de cadmium et de couleurs à base de plomb sont sujets à noircir. Certains auteurs affirment que ces mélanges ne présentent pas d'inconvénients: cela est vrai à condition que le sulfure de cadmium soit absolument pur et qu'il ne contienne pas, comme ~~des~~ ailleurs quelquefois, du soufre en liberté.

Journe indien. Couleur assez solide sur la nature de laquelle on n'est pas complètement fixé. D'après certains auteurs, elle serait fournie par l'urine de chameaux pourvus avec les fruits du mangoustan; pour d'autres, ce seraient certaines plantes, et particulièrement les fruits de mangoustan.

Gomme gutte. Matière résineuse fournie par certains végétaux de Cambodge et de Siam. Cette couleur qui manque de corps est employée surtout dans l'aquarelle.

Laques jaunes. Ces couleurs, peu solides, sont fournies par des principes colorants provenant de certains végétaux, principes qui sont fixés sur de l'alumine. Le principe colorant de la laque de gaude provient des tiges, feuilles et graines de la gaude (*Reseda luteola*). Celui du stil-de-grain est fourni par la graine du nerprun des teinturiers ou graine d'argemone. On l'extrait encore de l'espèce qui fournit la graine dite de perse.

Fig.14

M. Paul Colin), Les Grecs qui ont suivi le canon et qui ont glorifié Polyclète pour l'avoir écrit et sculpté; les Grecs qui avaient pris soin de mesurer les membres du corps humain, restèrent libres cependant, mais ils n'en s'écartèrent de la règle qu'après l'avoir bien connue. Malgré la loi des proportions, ils ont eu varier à l'infini les types humains. Ils ont concilié la variété individuelle de la règle typique, la symétrie et la liberté.

Les couleurs ou points de vue chimique

Blanc de plomb, dit blanc d'argent - carbonate de plomb.

Acopère vite, a l'inconvénient de noircir sous l'influence des émanations sulfureuses. Blanc d'arg. et vermillon se mêlent.

Blanc de zinc oxyde de zinc. Couvre moins et est moins siccatif que le blanc de plomb, est inaltérable, car l'hydrogène sulfuré en contact avec lui forme un sulfure qui est blanc. Il peut être utilisé avec avantage lorsqu'on ne désire pas obtenir de grands empâtements.

Jaune de Naples. - Antimoniate de plomb. Couleur solide, mais qu'il ne faut pas triturer avec le couteau à palette, car le fer a la propriété de l'altérer en lui faisant prendre une teinte verdâtre. On peut, du reste, remplacer cette couleur, par un mélange de blanc et de jaune, ce qui en outre, a l'avantage de permettre d'obtenir un jaune plus ou moins coloré.

Jaune de chrome. - Chromate de plomb. Noircit sous l'influence des émanations sulfureuses.

Fig.15

1975. A COMPREHENSIVE MEETING CONCERNING THE ROMANIAN-HUNGARIAN CULTURAL RELATIONS

Abstract: The article presents a meeting held in October 1975 between two delegations of Romanian and Hungarian politicians who were responsible for the cultural policy of the two countries. The cultural relations of the two countries were not the best at the time and the parties harboured mutual reproaches against one another. The archival documents studied show that both sides were satisfied with the meeting, with the manner in which the talks were conducted and with the results reached. It should be noted that the two delegations were led by the key figures responsible for the cultural policy of the two countries: Dumitru Popescu and György Aczél, both important officials of the two parties and states. The Romanian guest was received by the head of PMSU, János Kádár, with whom he had talks on overall bilateral relations. During the talks, the Hungarian party insisted on openly expressing their dissatisfaction with the political line of Bucharest and emphasised that this affected the bilateral relations between the two countries. In his replied, Dumitru Popescu showed that Romania's interest was to develop bilateral relations across all fields and defended the policy adopted by Bucharest.

Keywords: Romania, Hungary, cultural relations, János Kádár, György Aczél, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Dumitru Popescu, the Helsinki Accords.

*

The article presents the meeting of October 1975 between Dumitru Popescu and György Aczél and the discussions of the two personalities responsible for the cultural policies of Romania and Hungary. In addition to presenting the event, we considered it important to bring into question archival documents showing the positions adopted by the parties regarding cultural relations.

A Hungarian document from April 1975 showed that cultural relations between the two countries had a new basis after 1944/1945, when their objectives had become the same. However, the changes incurred by Bucharest's policy in the mid-1960s had a negative overall influence on these relations and, from the late 1960s, on cultural relations in particular.² In the early 1960s, cultural relations were developing, even if not necessarily in a sustained manner, but by the end of the decade, according to Budapest, Bucharest had begun to prefer large-scale and spectacular actions. Because of this Romanian attitude, Budapest was of the opinion that the cultural relations between the two countries were at a lower level compared to the cultural relations between Hungary and other socialist countries. The fact that Bucharest did not agree, during multilateral cultural negotiations, with the adoption by the socialist countries

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² Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltár (MNL OL), 288 f. 32/1975 129 ö. e., leaf 101.

of a common position on cultural policies also exerted an influence on bilateral cultural relations.

For the Hungarian party, an important goal envisaged preventing Bucharest from decreasing cultural relations. For this purpose, Budapest also attempted to undertake separate actions that were not included in the cultural plan. A special role was that of the Joint Romanian-Hungarian Cultural Commission, formed, at the Hungarian initiative, in Budapest in February 1972. Up until 1975, this committee had three meetings, two of which were held in Budapest in October 1972 and April 1975 and one of which took place in Bucharest in February 1974. Among the topics discussed were the joint commemorations of personalities such as Apáczai Csere János, of events such as the execution of the 13 generals in Arad, discussions about scientific relations and about relations at the level of higher education or between libraries. Other issues discussed included the realisation of exhibitions, tournaments of various ensembles in the other country, the regulation of problems regarding editorial collaboration, cooperation in the spheres of the theatres, libraries and music.³

Another more special problem concerning Budapest was that Bucharest hindered Hungary's maintenance of cultural relations with the Hungarian minority in Romania. Also because of this policy adopted by Bucharest, for Budapest it was very important that it should ensure the collaboration between the literary and publishing establishments of the two countries. The results were not among the most desirable and Budapest blamed the Romanian side for this. Among the factors that caused problems for the Hungarian party, we could include the passivity of the delegations of Romanian writers who went to Hungary and who were not authorised to sign agreements; the efforts of the Romanian party to prevent the Hungarian writers from having relations with the Hungarian intellectuals in Romania; the attitude of the Romanian writers who were delegated to international conferences and the Romanian writers' relations with circles of emigrants who were hostile to Hungary.⁴

Even the editing in common of books, an activity that started in 1951, was not without problems. That meant, in practice, that a certain number of books of various kinds were sent from one country to the other and vice versa. For the Hungarian side, there was a problem as regards the intent of the Romanian party to diminish the number of literary works from Hungarian and world literature (translated into Hungarian) and to prefer dictionaries and books with a technical content. On the other hand, Bucharest considered that the agreement of 1951 was out-dated and wanted a new one, but Budapest was of the opinion that a new agreement would be more unfavourable for the Hungarian side than the one in force.⁵

Cultural relations were not helped by the fact that in 1970, during the Hungarian book exhibition in Bucharest, the Romanian party unilaterally decided to eliminate some volumes and in 1972 it requested the Hungarian party to take out some the volumes proposed for the exhibition in Bucharest. Under such circumstances, in 1972 the Hungarian side considered it inappropriate that the

³ Ibidem, leaves 102, 103.

⁴ Ibidem, leaves 103, 103/a.

⁵ Ibidem, ff. 103/a, 104, 105.

exhibition should be held at all.⁶ The Hungarian document mentioned that Budapest had not made such claims when the exhibition of Romanian books was held in the Hungarian capital in 1972. As a result of what happened in Bucharest, the Hungarian side decided that it was useless to organise exhibitions of books until parties agreed on some basic issues. Because of these disagreements in the exhibitions organised on the occasion of the Romanian Cultural Days in Hungary or of the Hungarian Cultural Days in Romania, there were exhibited only books published separately.⁷

Theatre relations were considered the best of all the segments of cultural relations. In 1971 and in 1975, Hungarian theatres visited Romania, while in 1972 and in 1974, Romanian theatres visited Hungary. In addition to these examples that refer to theatres from the capitals of the two countries, there was also good cooperation between the theatres in the territory.⁸

On the musical level, relations were focused on the exchange of visits between artistic ensembles. There were almost no relations between creators.

As regards the exchange of films, relations remained at the level of potentiality. According to the Hungarian document, the Romanian party preferred Hungarian films with a lower cultural value and the number of productions broadcast in the other country was rather small.⁹

On other levels, such as those of the relations between artists, between libraries, between museums, between archives, between adjacent counties, exchanges were rather formal and on a smaller scale.¹⁰

The document also contains accounts about the Romanian Cultural Days organised in Hungary in 1974 and about the Hungarian Cultural Days held in Romania in 1975, as well as about the Romanian-Hungarian joint commemoration from Arad, in 1974. The Hungarian praised the assent of the Romanian party whereby two Hungarian writers from Romania, Károly Kós and István Nagy, could receive state honours from Hungary. Budapest's plans included the joint commemoration of Petru Groza, Mihai Eminescu and the unveiling of a statue of Nicolae Bălcescu in Méhkerék.¹¹

The document concluded that the interest of Budapest was that cultural relations should develop and that there should be encouraged the links between institutions and ensembles from Hungary and Romania, in areas inhabited mainly by Romanians.¹²

Another Hungarian document drawn up on 24 September 1975 focused on bilateral relations. The chapter on culture estimated that most problems were located here. The document reveals that the different way of looking at the events that had taken place on the international political stage or at events of the common past, the

⁶ Ibidem, f. 105.

⁷ Ibidem, ff. 105, 106.

⁸ Ibidem, ff. 106, 107, 108.

⁹ Ibidem, ff. 108, 109, 110.

¹⁰ Ibidem, ff. 110, 111, 112.

¹¹ Ibidem, ff. 112, 113, 114, 115.

¹² Ibidem f. 115.

problems concerning the joint publication of books, problems concerning the dissemination of Hungarian press and literature in Romania, the lack of opportunities to send teachers from the schools of the nationalities for training courses in the other country, the coordination of efforts to achieve a common didactic material for the teaching of their joint history, the manner in which the Romanian party was implementing the 1-1 rate in cultural exchanges, all these were key issues which influenced the course of these relations.¹³

An archive document from Bucharest, compiled on 21 April 1975, analyses the Romanian-Hungarian bilateral relations. The chapter that refers to cultural relations includes a brief history thereof and of the events that had occurred because of this collaboration. The document also talks about the mutual opening of the houses of culture in the capitals of two states. In this document, the Romanian side does not mention any problems about such relations.¹⁴

Another archival document drawn up by the Romanian party also on 26 April 1975, before the impending visit of István Roska, the deputy of the Hungarian Foreign Minister, contained a review of cultural relations. Bucharest made a positive assessment of these relations and wished to develop them. At the same time, according to the document, Bucharest was interested in the speedy opening of the houses of culture.¹⁵

A third Romanian archival document, also from 1975, which groups together “outstanding problems in the Romanian-Hungarian relations,” shows that in the domain of cultural relations, the Hungarian party considered unjustified the position of the Romanian negotiators regarding the exchange of 1-1 when discussing the mutual import of published books between the two countries, since in Romania there lived many more Hungarians than there were Romanians in Hungary.¹⁶ The Romanian document mentions that Budapest had requested, on several occasions, the mutual specialisation of teachers who worked in educational institutions where Hungarian was the language of instruction in Romania and, respectively, teachers of Romanian in Hungary. In this case, according to the document, the Romanian party had taken steps to resolve the situation. The Hungarian party considered that the collaboration between the didactic publishers in the two countries was insufficient.¹⁷ At the same time, Bucharest believed that the Hungarian party interpreted differently, in a “biased” manner, moments in the history of the Romanian people. By way of exemplification, we can mention: Hungarian historiography supported the theory of Romanian emigration south of the Danube; the activity of Michael the Brave, as regards Transylvania, was criticised; the Treaty of Trianon was considered unfair; the Romanian military operations from the end of World War I were considered decisive for the fall of the Republic of Councils; what was silenced was the Romanian Army’s

¹³ Ibidem, ff. 133, 134.

¹⁴ Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Problem 220, file 4982, f. 37.

¹⁵ Ibidem, f. 47.

¹⁶ Ibidem, f. 73.

¹⁷ Ibidem, f. 73.

role in the battles waged on the territory of Hungary in 1944-1945.¹⁸ The Romanian document considered that Budapest manifested an “exaggerated” concern for the Hungarian culture, art and population in Romania and for the popularisation of Hungarian culture in Romania, both in Hungary and in other foreign countries. The Hungarian side tried to maintain and develop direct relations both with Hungarian cultural personalities and with Hungarian cultural institutions in Romania. For this, the assent of the Romanian party was requested. The document noted that the Hungarian party frequently used the word *Transylvania* in its actions of popularising Hungarian culture in Romania, but without indicating that it was a territory that belonged to Romania.¹⁹ The document also stated that the Romanian party was not pleased that in 1976, at the fourth session of the Joint Commission for Culture, discussions should focus on the Hungarian proposal for the joint protection of Hungarian monuments on Romania’s territory. Instead, the Romanian party expected that it would propose discussing the traditions of solidarity between the two peoples “in the struggle for social and national justice.” There was discontent in Bucharest also as regards the manner in which the Romanian people was presented in books or films from Hungary and the situation of the graves of the Romanian soldiers killed in Hungary. With respect to Decree no. 275 of 6 December 1974, which limited the possibilities for the accommodation of foreign tourists in Romania and which caused dissatisfaction among the Hungarian citizens, the Romanian document stated that the measure had been taken “to limit the movement of foreigners in general and to facilitate the entry of hard currency into the country.”²⁰ The measure and its effects became a subject for the Romanian-Hungarian meetings that followed.

On 1-3 October, a Romanian delegation led by Dumitru Popescu, a member of the Political Executive Committee, Secretary of the RCP, Chairman of the Council for Socialist Culture and Education, visited Budapest. The delegation also included Ioan Dodu Bălan, Vice-Chairman of the same commission, President of the Romanian members of the Romanian-Hungarian Joint Commission of Cultural Cooperation and Ștefan Pascu, President of the Romanian side of the Romanian-Hungarian Joint Commission of History. The Hungarian team that participated in the discussions consisted of György Aczél, Vice-President of the Council of Ministers, László Orbán, Minister of Culture, István Roska, Deputy Foreign Minister, László Marczali, Deputy Minister of Culture, Professor Daniel Csátri, secretary of the Hungarian side of the Romanian-Hungarian Joint Commission of History. On this occasion, the participants addressed the development of Romanian-Hungarian cooperation in the fields of education, science, culture, art, developing the exchanges of information and cultural values.²¹ The meeting was expected to take place in January 1975, but it was cancelled by the Hungarian side. György Aczél motivated this decision by reference to their busy calendar of internal events.²²

¹⁸ Ibidem, f. 73.

¹⁹ Ibidem, ff. 73, 74.

²⁰ Ibidem, f. 74.

²¹ *Scântea*, year XLV, no. 10300, 2 October 1975, p. 4.

²² MNL OL, 288 f. 32/1975 129 ó. e., f. 578.

Dumitru Popescu was also received by János Kádár on 2 October. On this occasion, the parties stressed the need and the possibilities for intensifying economic collaboration, as well as cooperation in the field of production, technology, science and culture. The solidarity between the two countries also had to be “deepened,” and the Romanian-Hungarian friendship had to be strengthened even more, based on equality, esteem, mutual respect, Marxism-Leninism, and socialist internationalism.²³ During the talks, Kádár stated Budapest’s desire to develop bilateral relations and critically referred to some Romanian political positions. He also evoked the meeting he had had with Nicolae Ceaușescu in Helsinki and the fact that they had agreed on examining the problems and the unresolved issues pertaining to the bilateral relations. Kádár also brought into discussion the common past of the two nations and said that the “progressive forces have taken over a difficult legacy from the former ruling classes.”²⁴ It was not good that the two countries should embark on different paths since that could possibly get them face to face rather than beside one another. The Hungarian Party Head agreed with the idea upheld by the Romanian foreign policy, in the sense that Romania wanted good relations with everyone, but emphasised that, in this case, the cooperation between the socialist countries had to be even better.²⁵ Besides this, the leader of the Hungarian Socialist Workers’ Party informed the Romanian guest that Hungary wanted to collaborate with Romania on a multilateral level and invoked, above all, the possibilities within the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Budapest also wished to express its dissatisfaction that “there were too many separate opinions among the Romanians.” It was desirable that their number “should drop”, as this affected both the bilateral cooperation between the two countries and the multilateral cooperation inside the socialist bloc.²⁶ It should be noted that the Romanian opinions were aimed at an integration program developed within the CMEA. Kádár opined that the meetings at the highest level had to bring results so that the two peoples could see their purpose. The opportunities for economic cooperation between the socialist countries had to be valorised also because these countries were less exposed to the negative trends worldwide. The Hungarian leader stated that in such circumstances it was not appropriate to establish a meeting at the highest level since the parties would not do anything but to declare their position of principle, without registering real progress. Such a meeting had to be well prepared in order to have positive results.²⁷ In his reply, Dumitru Popescu stated that it was the desire of Nicolae Ceaușescu that the bilateral relations between the two countries should further develop and that Ceaușescu was ready to commit himself to achieving the goals discussed by the two party heads in Helsinki. The Romanian official also wanted to defend his country’s foreign policy stating that although Romania supported the complex program of CMEA, when things were enforced in practice, there could exist practices that did not

²³ *Scântea*, year XLV, no. 10301, 3 October 1975, p. 6.

²⁴ MNL OL, 288 f. 32/1975 129 ö. e., ff. 333, 334, 335.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, ff. 335, 336.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, ff. 336, 337.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, ff. 314, 337, 338.

pay attention to sovereignty and the principle of voluntary annexation. It was necessary to stage debates before taking a decision. No one should be prevented from exercising their opinion. According to Dumitru Popescu, the relations were relatively good and preparations should be stepped up for a new bilateral meeting at the highest level. This event would have a beneficial effect on bilateral relations and would be welcomed by the public opinion of the two countries.²⁸

The discussions between György Aczél and Dumitru Popescu were longer and more comprehensive. The two officials informed each other about the domestic and foreign policies of the countries they represented and they started to discuss bilateral relations based on the mutual Memorandum signed in Bucharest in 1972, during the visit of the Hungarian delegation led by János Kádár. Aczél wanted to enumerate the problems of the bilateral cultural relations, as they had been presented in the documents mentioned above. To these were added problems in the sphere of tourism.²⁹ The Hungarian official was critically linked to the Romanian political line, which Popescu defended even in polemical terms. Bucharest aimed at developing bilateral relations with all the socialist countries and provided support to countries in the developing world. The essence of Romanian politics was expressed by Dumitru Popescu in the following way. "We wish to think independently about the world around us, to try to judge by ourselves the international events and to draw Marxist-Leninist conclusions. Let not think one head think instead of the others and transmit already charted out conclusions, which just have to be executed in practice, because this does no service to the common interests."³⁰ Cultural and other types of relations had to develop because they entailed many opportunities and it was indicated that the parties should hold consultations on issues concerning mutual cultural relations. Dumitru Popescu gave straightforward answers to all the issues raised by György Aczél. One of the thorny issues was the obligation that the foreign tourists who went to Romania should stay at hotels and not at their relatives. Budapest was of the opinion that the law was directed mainly against the Hungarian tourists who travelled in large numbers to Romania and were put up by their relatives, while Bucharest considered that the law was for the Western tourists, who were "engaged in inimical activities."³¹ Otherwise, the Romanian official gave positive answers to the issues launched by the Hungarian side, but he also wanted to highlight how differently the two sides regarded aspects pertaining to the past of the Romanian people. For the Hungarian delegation, it was surprising that Dumitru Popescu stated that the nationalities must foster rapprochement and friendship, because the Romanian delegations did not condone such formulas in their discussions with the Hungarian delegations. According to Budapest's conclusions, the desire to cooperate expressed by Dumitru Popescu could also be explained by the fact that Bucharest wanted again a meeting at the highest level. The parties also adopted a memorandum at this meeting, but the Romanian delegation was no longer so cooperating on the provisions

²⁸ Ibidem, ff. 339, 340.

²⁹ Ibidem, f. 316.

³⁰ Ibidem, ff. 316, 317.

³¹ Ibidem, ff. 317, 318, 319.

of the document, except at a verbal level, at least according to the archives in Budapest. The Hungarian side considered the meeting to be useful.³²

The fact that the discussions between Aczél and Popescu were important is also demonstrated by the project that the party apparatus prepared for György Aczél, a document that contained serious allegations against Romanian politics.³³

This document showed that the propaganda that served Romanian nationalist politics was expanding, that the moral and psychological pressure exerted on people belonging to the Hungarian nationality was accentuating, that negative discrimination was applied more and more broadly and that the ways in which the specific wishes of the minority could be resolved were increasingly limited. There were also problems with education in the mother tongue.

The way in which the history of the Romanian people was regarded gave no hope for an improvement of cultural cooperation. Official history was excessively “Romanianised” and deliberately ignored the history of non-Romanian populations.

The Hungarian document stated that at present there were no signs indicating any change in the Romanian ideological and political life. It seemed that the official political line was to remain in force for years.

Romanian politics had several specific viewpoints on Hungary also as regards the PMSU policy, which influenced the behaviour of the politicians in Budapest, but also public opinion and the political atmosphere of the PRH. The Hungarian public opinion was becoming increasingly discontent as the national situation worsened in Romania. The Hungarians in Romania would have wanted this help to manifest more concretely, more poignantly.

This document proposed the following ideas as a working hypothesis:³⁴

- It should be specified whether the national question was part of the internal policy of that state, but, at the same time, whether the mother country was concerned indirectly to ensure those rights. The final document of CSCE contains such a reference.
- It was assumed that following the latest decisions and practices, the situation of the Hungarians in Romania had deteriorated. The Hungarian public opinion was concerned.
- The Hungarian Party worked to achieve the national policy in a Leninist style.
- In terms of the role played by the nationalities in the cooperation between the two countries, the PMSU's position of principle was that the nationalities represented an important factor for the closeness and brotherly multilateral cooperation of the socialist states and peoples.

A report by the Hungarian ambassador in Bucharest, dated 24 October 1975, showed that the Romanian side have issued a positive assessment of the visit and the talks Dumitru Popescu had had in Budapest and it was appreciated that the event could give an impetus to the dialogue on other issues.³⁵

The event was important for several reasons. This was the meeting of the two personalities that, at that time, were responsible for the cultural policy of the two

³² Ibidem, ff. 319, 320.

³³ MNL OL, XIX-J-1-j-România-1-004930/16-1975, unnumbered leaf.

³⁴ Ibidem.

³⁵ MNL OL, 288 f. 32/1975 129 ó. e., ff. 545, 546.

leading political parties. On the other hand, this was a meeting in which the countries were represented by the two dignitaries, but even though they were officially on the same side in political, military and economic terms, they were very different and their bilateral relations were also not among the best.

After the 1956 revolution, which had been crushed by the Soviets, Hungary had pursued an external policy that was faithful to the Soviet Union. On the internal, domestic level, in 1968-1972 there was an attempt to introduce economic reforms and not only, but they were hampered by the criticisms launched by Leonid Brezhnev. Another important change in Budapest's policy envisaged the "rediscovery," in the late 1960s, of the Hungarian minorities in the countries neighbouring Hungary and Budapest's changed policy towards the national minorities in Hungary. This "rediscovery" was seen as a wind of change by Raphael Vago. The essence of this politics was that the nationalities should serve as a bridge in the relations between the socialist countries.³⁶ Yugoslavia was the only socialist state neighbouring Hungary that registered some success in this sense, but they stayed mainly at a declarative level after the death of Josip Broz Tito in 1980. As part of this new political direction, the Hungarian state was interested in the fate of the Hungarian minorities from the neighbouring countries, but only Romania, on whose territory there lived the largest Hungarian community, received a special attention, accompanied by more or less overt criticism.³⁷ With regard to the conditions in which the minority communities were living in Romania, there was a strong contradiction between the official positions of the two countries. While the Hungarian documents on which the delegations of this country relied spoke of the growing pressures on this community, the documents and the position of Bucharest maintained that there was no such thing, as the laws of Romania prohibited any discrimination. Bucharest supported its position also with statistics, showing the number of cultural and education institutions that operated in Hungarian and the representation of the minority in the national or the local public apparatus. On the other hand, Romania argued that for any citizen it was important to know the official language of the state in order to find a job anywhere on the territory of the country. The fate of the Hungarians in the USSR or Czechoslovakia was also followed by the Hungarian politicians, but without the existence of such criticism as those addressed to Romania.³⁸ The intelligentsia in Hungary was worried about the fate of these minorities. Due to the behavioural manner of the Hungarian political elite, we can agree with the historian Ignác Romsics, who felt that Budapest was critical of Bucharest also because it wanted to convey the Soviet dissatisfaction caused by the Romanian political agenda.

It should be noted that the governments in Bonn also watched the fate of the German minority in Romania and that the conclusions drawn were not the most reassuring. It was expected, ever since 1972, that the objective of Romanian politics was the assimilation of the minorities.³⁹

³⁶ Raphael Vago, *The Grandchildren of Trianon*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989, p. 103.

³⁷ *Magyarország története*. Főszerkesztő Romsics Ignác, Akadémiai Kiadó, 2007, pp. 924, 925.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 924.

³⁹ Auswärtiges Amt Politisches Archiv Zwischenarchiv 112639, unnumbered leaf.

Romania was in a different situation. The Soviet troops had left its territory in 1958 and in 1964 the country adopted a different political line. This caused, in time, tensions with Moscow and its loyal allies, among them Budapest, which sometimes acted as a mouthpiece for the Kremlin. Another element of tension was the changed incurred by Romanian domestic politics in 1971, after the visit that a delegation led by Nicolae Ceaușescu had undertaken in the Far East.

It should be noted that the meeting of the two delegations took place after the signing, on 31 August 1975, of the Helsinki Accords. These were important both for Hungary and for the neighbours. Budapest could try to have cultural relations with the Hungarian minorities abroad and the neighbouring countries were assured that there would not be attempts to change the borders by military means. It was also in Helsinki that the new policy promoted by Hungary from the late 1960s on received a very strong echo because in his speech, János Kádár spoke about the territorial losses suffered by Hungary at the end of World War I and about the long-lasting past of the Hungarian state.⁴⁰

As regards the consequences, we can say that up until the end of the communist period, cultural relations were the most neuralgic and created the biggest problems. Basically, two different concepts collided. Budapest, which deemed that the national communities from the territory of the neighbouring state, in this case, Romania, could also be involved in these relations, and Bucharest, which believed that cultural relations could only be established between the two independent sovereign countries. In Romania's view, the RCP and the Romanian government were solely responsible for the country's citizens, regardless of their ethnic origin. The Hungarian attempts to have cultural relations with the Hungarian minority in Romania or to channel cultural contacts primarily to the areas inhabited by Hungarians were viewed not favourably by Bucharest. It should be mentioned that, at that time, Romania did not show increased attention towards the Romanian communities in the neighbouring countries also in order to avoid creating this reciprocity. The parties did have discussions but they were never able to see eye to eye in order to open cultural houses in the capital of the other country.

The event had positive consequences, at that moment, due to the meeting of two personalities that played an important role in the cultural policy of the two countries, Dumitru Popescu, nicknamed Popescu God, and György Aczél, the one who introduced the rule of the three *Ts* in the Hungarian cultural policy. These were the words *támogatott, tűrt, tiltott* - *supported, tolerated, prohibited*, terms that were used in labelling the creation and conduct of the members of Hungary's cultural and artistic life. Their talks, among others, created the possibility of the last bilateral meeting held between Nicolae Ceaușescu and János Kádár, two years later.

⁴⁰ *Magyarország története*. Főszerkesztő Romsics Ignác, Akadémiai Kiadó, 2007, p 924.

